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POPULAR EXPOSITIONS OF THE PROPHECIES:

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES.

"To speak a word in season to him that is weary."—*Isaiah* l. 4.

It happened to the writer, some time ago, to attend divine service in an Independent chapel in a much-frequented watering-place on the Yorkshire coast. The minister was an able man, and evidently very popular as a preacher. His text, on the morning referred to, was from the 4th verse of the 50th chapter of Isaiah; and he took pains, in connection with it, to set forth what he considered the prophetic meaning of certain expressions in the earlier part of the same chapter. By an ingenious but yet a most fallacious process, the passage was turned into a kind of argument for the deity of Christ, and shewn to contain a prophecy of the lowly, suffering life of our Saviour, in his character as the Messiah.

The reasoning by which this turn was given to the prophet's meaning was somewhat as follows. In ver. 3 we read, "I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering;" and in the next verse we have these words: "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary." Again, the 6th verse runs thus: "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting." Now here, as was pointed out, we have the same person introduced as doing what we are well assured only the Almighty can do, and also as doing and suffering what is possible only to a human being—"*I* clothe the heavens with blackness, and *I* make sackcloth their covering:" who can do this but God alone? But then the same speaker adds, "I gave my back to the smiters;" with more to the same effect. In the former case, therefore, he appears as Creator and Ruler of the world; in the latter, as a suffering man, doing the will of God on earth, and bearing the indignities which exasperated enemies and persecutors were so ready and so able to inflict upon their victim. Here then, again, you have manifestly One mysteriously set forth for contemplation in the character of *God* and *man*—a *God-man;* and who can the prophet have had in

his thoughts but that great personage of whom the Christian Gospel also speaks as the "Word made flesh,"—who both did mighty works on earth, such as only God's power could do, and moreover literally gave his back to the smiters and hid not his face from shame? Thus, in a word, it is plain that you have CHRIST in his divine power and his suffering human weakness placed before you; for by this conclusion alone can you explain and harmonize the conflicting statements here made of one and the same person.

The case thus made out appeared, no doubt, a very complete one to the large congregation addressed by the preacher; but, as already intimated, the argument is altogether fallacious—so much so, that one is perplexed to understand how any man of ordinary theological knowledge can have made use of it. As the interests of sacred truth and of rational scripture interpretation are largely involved in these considerations, it may be well briefly to examine the passage upon which such a meaning was imposed, and to endeavour to place its interpretation on something like a secure basis.

To this end let us recall the fact—familiar enough to most of our readers, though probably not often spoken of in any Independent pulpit—the fact, that the latter part of the book of Isaiah, from chap. xl. to the end of the book, is known by sure internal marks (admitted as such by the highest authorities of recent times) to have been written during the period of the Babylonian captivity, i. e. when the Jews were living as captives in Babylon and the surrounding provinces, a state in which they were for great part of a century, between the years five and six hundred before the birth of Christ. During this long period, a large and important part of the nation were away from their own land,—from Jerusalem and its temple, which, indeed, now lay in ruins,—living many of them, perhaps, in a state of slavery among their conquerors, or otherwise in small communities of their own; and there is reason to believe that their condition, on the whole, was one of less hardship than often fell to the lot of conquered races in those barbarous times. In such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that many fell away into the idolatrous religions of those among whom they lived, and into various evil and superstitious practices connected with them (comp. Is. lvii.—lix.); nor yet, perhaps, that the great bulk of the captive people remained true to their ancient and hereditary faith in Jehovah, and clung to the hope of one day returning to Judea and rebuilding the temple of their worship on Mount Zion (comp. Is. li.—lv.).

This state of things—the captivity, the sufferings of many, the grief, and the longings of all the better part of the exiles for their native home and the worship of their fathers—are frequently alluded to, as we might expect, in certain parts of the

Old Testament,—as in different Psalms, and in many places in the writings of those prophets who lived during and after the time of the captivity. Who, for example, is not familiar with those touching words of the 137th Psalm?—

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down;
Yea, we wept when we remembered Zion;
We hung our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof;
For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song,
And they that wasted us required of us mirth,
Saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion."

And the prophet Jeremiah, with even deeper feeling, exclaims:

"Oh that my head were waters,
And mine eyes a fountain of tears!
That I might weep day and night
For the slain of the daughter of my people:
Oh that I had in the wilderness a traveller's lodging-place,
That I might leave my people and go from them!"

Thus he laments, looking forward, we may perceive, to the rapidly approaching catastrophe, and ascribing the whole misery of his people to their own evil conduct and their forgetfulness of Jehovah.

But, with all their evil-doing, Jehovah had *not* "cast them off for ever." During the captivity there arose various prophets witnesses to this effect,—earnest and devout men of God burning with zeal against the wickedness which had been the cause of their misfortunes, but yet bearers of hope and comfort to the suffering people. Among these Prophets of the Captivity none is so conspicuous as he who may be termed the later Isaiah, the composer of the latter part of the book so called,—a portion of the Scriptures remarkable alike for its varied poetical beauty and eloquence, for the terms of joy and exultation with which the writer at times expresses his confidence in the return of his people to their own land, and for the words of religious trust with which he often seeks to revive and sustain their drooping spirits:—

"Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God;
Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and cry unto her,
That her warfare is accomplished,
That her iniquity is pardoned,
That she hath received at the hand of Jehovah double for all her sins."

Thus commence these prophetic exhortations, and they continue throughout the rest of the book of Isaiah; many various strains of hope and fear, remonstrance and warning, encouragement and threatening, even doubt and grief at times, alternating with one another; the predominant tone, however, being one of confidence that all will at length be well under the safe guidance of Him who is "the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, who fainteth not, neither is weary."

It would not have been necessary to dwell so distinctly

on the fact of the captivity and the general character of the writings of the later Isaiah, but for the purpose of putting, as it were, the chapter now more particularly under notice in its right place, and thus reading it with some degree of knowledge of the person who wrote it, and the circumstances of which he was speaking. Without some preliminary understanding of this kind, it may be easily seen that we can have little hope of reading either that chapter or any other with due intelligence; and, indeed, little hope of getting from it any self-consistent or instructive meaning whatever.

This passage, then, the prophet begins by declaring, in highly figurative language, that Jehovah has not, of His own arbitrary will, cast away His people. It is their own iniquities and transgressions only that have brought them into their present evil state. The words in which this is expressed are these: "Thus saith Jehovah, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement?" Here, as often elsewhere, the relation between Jehovah and the nation of Israel is expressed under the figure of that between husband and wife. The individual Israelites are again conceived of as the children; and the prophet's assertion is that they, the Israelites, the children, have no document or bill of divorcement to produce, to prove that Jehovah has put away His ancient people; to shew, that is, that He has voluntarily sent them into captivity and given them up to their enemies. The figure may sound strange to our ears, but it is a familiar one to the writers of the Old Testament. We may remember that, according to the Mosaic law, divorce was *easy*, and dependent on the pure will of the husband. The latter had simply to give the wife a writing of divorcement as a sort of legal evidence of the separation, and the tie was broken. But such, says the prophet, has *not* been the conduct of Jehovah towards his chosen nation; or, if it has, where is the proof? where is the bill of divorcement? —implying that it does not exist. Nor has He sold them, as a man might his slaves or even his children, to any of his creditors in discharge of a debt;—another thing that was allowable under the ancient law. This Jehovah has not done with His children and servants. It is, as before, their own sins which have caused their ruin. It is the simple and just punishment of their wrong-doing which they have now to bear.

This evil conduct of his people towards Jehovah the prophet next exemplifies by instances. They have refused to listen to former warnings. There was no man among them there to answer when He called upon them by the mouth of His messengers. They were deaf to such appeals, as though He were no longer able to deliver them,—He at whose rebuke the very seas would be dried up and the rivers become a wilderness,—He who can clothe the heavens with blackness, and make sackcloth their covering!

Thus far it is clear that Isaiah is representing Jehovah Himself as speaking to His people, and reminding them of the obstinacy and wickedness which have been the source of their calamities. Then altering his tone, he begins abruptly to speak in his own person—a sudden change of a kind which is highly characteristic of the Hebrew writers. It is common, for example, in the Psalms, and not at all rare in the Prophets.* Speaking, therefore, now in his own person, the prophet goes on to recall the opposition and persecution he has met with from some of his fellow-captives. "The Lord God has given me," he says, "the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary." "The Lord God hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious." "I gave my back to the smiters; . . . I hid not my face from shame and spitting; . . . for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded: . . . who is mine adversary? let him come near to me." In such terms does this great prophet express his own resolution to deliver his messages, either of encouragement or of warning and reproof, to his people, in spite of the opposition and ill-usage which he meets with,—confident that Jehovah will be his support, and deliver him, whether from Babylonian or from Hebrew persecutors. "Who is among you that feareth Jehovah, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of Jehovah, and rely upon his God." Such is the conclusion in which he rests. He will execute his prophetic office. He will denounce the wickedness of his people. He will tell them freely that it is their own sins that have brought them into trouble. He will keep back no word of his whole message, persecute him as they may; for his trust in God is immovable, and he will not fear.

As before intimated, the later chapters of the book of Isaiah although belonging to the one period of the captivity, yet represent very various states of feeling on the part of their author. You see him full of hope and joy, pouring forth the strains of consolation, and urging his people to prepare themselves for the near approach of the day of their deliverance. But then, again, you find him in very different moods; complaining bitterly of the idolatry and wickedness of his countrymen; full of anxiety as the hoped-for deliverance is longer and still longer delayed; and ready at times almost to sink in despair and abandon his hopes. Near the very close of the book, in chap. lxiv., he gives utterance to feelings of this kind:

"Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens,
That thou wouldest come down,

* Comp. Ps. lxxxix. 1—8; Is. lxi. 6, 7, lxv. 5—8; Jer. xiii. 23—25, xlvii. 6, 7. The critical corrections of such forms of expression, sometimes found in the ancient versions, are, for the most part, merely conjectural, and not to be regarded.

That the mountains might be shaken at thy presence!
As *when* fire kindleth brushwood,
Or fire causeth water to boil,
To make thy name known to thine adversaries,
That the nations may tremble at thy presence!"

And later in the same chapter he exclaims:

"Be not wroth to the uttermost, O Jehovah!
Neither remember iniquity for ever:
Behold, see, we beseech thee, thy people are we all.
Thy holy cities are a wilderness,
Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation.
Our holy and our beautiful house,
Where our fathers praised thee,
Is burned up with fire,
And all our pleasant things are laid waste.
Wilt thou restrain thyself at these things, O Jehovah?
Wilt thou keep silence, and afflict us to the uttermost?"

Thus, again, by various considerations, we are led to see that the prophet speaks frequently in his *own* person; while at other times representing Jehovah Himself as coming forward to address the Israelites. In one chapter or verse it may be the prophet; in another, or the next, and without notice or introduction, it may be Jehovah; a fact from which it is clear that, in the passage now before us, it is altogether unnecessary to explain this changing form of expression in the manner so much in vogue among our orthodox friends: to suppose that CHRIST is the object, in some mysterious way, present to the prophet's mind; spoken of in one verse as doing what none but the Almighty Creator can do, and in another as suffering what only a man can suffer; and being therefore, as it is inferred, at once both God and man. It is not Christ at all, but the writer of the book, who says that, trusting in God, he has given his back to the smiter. It is not Christ, but the prophet himself, who says that the Lord God will help him, and that his adversaries shall lie down in sorrow; and it is only the exigencies of theological systems that compel men to pass by, or blind them that they cannot see, the simple, natural meaning of such words.

For such expositions of scripture there is, however, but little excuse in these days. Most parts of the Old Testament have been so fully explained and illustrated by the patient labour of successive generations, and these chapters of Isaiah in particular have received such abundant illustration from modern investigation, that it is scarcely conceivable how any minister of religion, with mind duly alive to the interests of truth, can stand up from time to time, and in apparent ignorance or neglect of the sure results of learning referred to, can give utterance to such expositions and readings and interpretations of prophecy as we sometimes hear of.

One of these popular expositors, whose name has long been a familiar one in the public prints, in utter disregard or happy ignorance (as it would seem) of what the most competent authorities have said on these subjects, goes about the country explaining to the multitudes, who crowd to hear, his own fanciful applications of the words of holy writ; making the prophets speak, apparently at his own will and pleasure, of modern politics and scientific inventions, the downfall of the Papal power and the end of the world,—subjects of which there is surely no trace to be found in the books of scripture, if read only according to those principles of reason and common sense which no one hesitates to follow in the case of all other ancient writings. Such exhibitions are too frequent in our times and in this country; and it is plainly a duty which all who know better owe to the truth and to the just authority of the Scriptures, to resist and expose to the utmost such perversions of their meaning and their use.

We are told by a divine authority that "every idle word that men speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." One who seeks to act in the spirit of this declaration will be on his guard, against letting his fancy or his feelings run away with his reason and judgment, in the interpretation of scripture as in other matters; endeavouring to understand and apply that Book of books in a way which may conduce to his religious instruction, so that it may give him a better knowledge of his duties to God and man, and help him to perform them aright,—rather than serve Him as a kind of book of fortune-telling, about whose meaning, when so regarded, scarcely any two individuals can anywhere be found to agree.

The Bible is manifestly for all of us, in one important sense, far more a book of the past than one of the future. It does not shew us so much what is to be, as what *has* been; containing many examples of good and ill, many lessons of right and wrong doing, many warning instances of the Divine displeasure against sin, and many consolatory and encouraging proofs of the Divine approval of righteousness,—all written for our instruction, and able to make us "wise unto salvation," if we ourselves will only attend to them. In the great volume of the written word, we see the evident intention of the Almighty Parent, not to unfold to us the heights and depths of His providence in the future destinies of the world, but to promote and stimulate our spiritual life and growth. The FUTURE, indeed, is there also laid open before us. We read, in various forms of speech, that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" and that there is One "who will render to every man according to his deeds." This the Bible does tell us concerning the future in plain terms; and it contains for us no more solemn or important announcement. But it does not tell us, and never professes to tell us, what will

be our particular outward condition in this life, a year hence or twenty years hence. Nor will it tell us in what state our country will then be; whether war shall then rage in the earth; whether neighbouring despotisms will then be overthrown, the Jews restored to their own ancient home, and the Pope dethroned from among the reigning powers of the world. It will not tell us such things as these; and they who would pretend that it does, —who would so pretend in the face of all the light which the more recent learning has shed even upon the obscure places of the sacred volume,—they who would stand up and lead the multitudes who trust in them to place *such* a reliance on the divine word,—they are surely but as "blind guides;" and their words but as "idle words," of which they will have to give an account "in the day of judgment." Or, if it be not so, this will be because the great Judge is very forbearing and very merciful; because He will allow something to the circumstance that their own eyes have been withholden by the inevitable influences of education and position, or by their natural infirmity, from making a better use of what prophets and apostles and holy men of old have written for our "instruction in righteousness."

It scarcely needs to be insisted on that we all owe it to the truth contained in the Scriptures, as well as to the great cause of truth in the world, to make every reasonable effort to interpret and apply those ancient and venerable books, in their several parts, in the *one sense* which their writers originally intended them to bear, and to rescue them, if it be possible, out of the hands of ignorant or fanatical expounders, whether of doctrine or of prophecy. We owe them this "reasonable service," and they claim this at our hands. We may rejoice to believe that, amidst many extravagances of the kind of which we have spoken, the feeling of this duty is gradually winning its way and exercising its power in different directions in the religious world, coming up in the most unexpected quarters,—among Oxford and Lampeter Professors, in Independent Colleges, and even, at times, in Independent and other pulpits. The full results of this growing and better intelligence are not yet; but in due time they will not fail to appear,—a slow growth, it may be, but not the less sure, abundant, and beneficial; for the seed of divine truth, though, like the grain of mustard-seed, it be one of the least of all seeds, yet shall it spring up in God's good time into a vast and stately tree; and, from age to age, new and increasing multitudes of glad and grateful disciples shall find rest and shelter beneath the branches thereof.

V.

SOME FURTHER ACCOUNT OF BOOKS TRANSMITTED FROM CLAUSENBURG BY THE TRANSYLVANIAN UNITARIANS TO THE PRINCIPAL OF MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.

Sir,

I proceed to complete my account, with the assistance of Mr. Dominic Simén, of the present of books recently sent us by our Transylvanian brethren. Those which now remain to be noticed are all in the Magyar language.

II. "Katechesis: that is, the Teaching of the Christian Religion. Lately published for the use of the Unitarian Congregations and Schools in Transylvania, by the Supreme Consistory. Clausenburg. Printed at the press of the Calvinist College. 1854." Under the several heads of this Catechism full Scripture references are given. It is printed in a cheap form for general use; but the paper is superior to the common German paper, and the type is clear and firm.

III. "Hymns and Psalms for praising God in the Unitarian Congregations of Transylvania. Clausenburg. Published by Gabriel Barra. 1837." This little volume, enclosed in a case for carrying it to Church, is very neatly got up in calf, with gold-edged leaves, in a style that would not discredit London. The type is remarkably distinct. To many of the hymns appropriate melodies are attached. To this Collection are prefixed, Forms for Morning and Evening Prayer, and for Entering and Quitting Church. The order and contents of the remainder of the volume are as follows: I. *Hymns for a Week.* (1) Invocation; (2) Sunday Hymns; (3) Week-day Hymns and Psalms for Morning and Evening; (4) Penitential Hymns. II. *Hymns for Holy Days.* (1) Advent Sundays; (2) Christmas Hymns and Psalms; (3) New-Year's Hymns and Psalms; (4) Sundays before Easter; (5) Good Friday; (6) Easter Hymns and Psalms; (7) Holy Thursday or Ascension Day; (8) Hymns and Psalms for Whitsuntide; (9) Hymns and Psalms for the Lord's Supper. III. *Hymns for different Occasions.* (1) Hymns and Psalms for general Worship; (2) On the Dedication of a Church; (3) On the Ordination of a Minister; (4) In Time of War and Pestilence; (5) Hymns for the Sick; (6) In Seasons of Trial; (7) Thanksgivings for an abundant Year; (8) Bridal Hymns; (9) For Country and Prince; (10) For Steadfastness in Faith; (11) Confession of Faith (at time of Confirmation); (12) Hymns for Travellers; (13) Concluding Hymns.

In the Appendix are selections from the Psalms of David, revised by Albert Mólnár, and adapted to the Magyar from the French version and melodies of Clement Marot and Theodore Beza. To every psalm a melody is attached, with the initials

either of Beza or of Marot. These initials connect the present Unitarian worship of Transylvania with the earliest movements of the Reformation in France and Geneva.

IV. "Funeral Song-book: for the use of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania. Clausenburg. Published by John Stein. 1856." This collection is followed by a Meditation and Prayer on Death. Melodies are given at the end of the volume. On the reverse of the title-page is a couplet in rhyme to the following effect: "*Our life here is a continual questioning; we only get the answer hereafter.*"

This little volume is still more neatly got up than the Hymn-book, printed on superior paper, and in an excellent type.

Great interest attaches to these two last works, as indicating the provision for the devotional wants of our Transylvanian brethren. In the Protestant worship of the continent, so far as I have observed, psalmody always forms a very important part. In the smallest village church of the Transylvanian Unitarians, there is an organ, and the village schoolmaster is *ex officio* the organist. Several of the hymns in these two collections are very old. I learn from Mr. Simén, that a collection of sacred songs in Magyar was made by Francis Davidis and his friends, and published at Clausenburg about 1570,—some translated out of the Polish language, some taken from Luther. Among others, Davidis translated Luther's celebrated hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." Two are still extant, from the hand of John II., son of Zapolya, who was king of Hungary about the middle of the 16th century. One of these (a Hymn for Confirmation) occurs in the present Hymn-book, p. 174. Successive editions of this Hymn-book appeared in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries down to the 6th, now presented to us, and published in 1837. On each occasion additions were made to the collection, some by persons of rank and eminence in Transylvania, including ladies,—among the rest, by a general of King John II., and by Michael de Szent Abrahám, the original author of the "Summa Theologiæ." To the last edition hymns were added—by Samuel Archizewsky, of Clausenburg, a descendant of the old Polish Unitarians, whose ancestors fled from persecution into Transylvania; by Alexander Székely, formerly Bishop; and by different Professors in the College at Clausenburg and Principals of the Gymnasium at Thorda.

The earliest collection of Funeral Hymns was published, without any date, at Clausenburg in the latter half of the 16th century. It contained some Latin hymns,—one, "Cur mundus militat," by Prudentius. This collection has passed through several editions. The fourth, in 1768, was enriched by additions from the pen of Joseph Geiza, who was a distinguished Professor in the College at Clausenburg. The fifth and last edition (the one pre-

sented to us) was published a few years ago, under the superintendence of John Kriza, the present and recently-elected Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania.

V. "The Christian Sower: edited by John Kriza and Lewis Nagy [Unitarian ministers and professors at Clausenburg]. Clausenburg. Printed at the press of the Roman Catholic Lyceum. 1861." This is the first volume of a religious periodical. It is well printed on good paper, and has altogether a very respectable appearance. Prefixed is an excellent lithographed portrait of Michael de Szent Abrahám, before alluded to, author of the "Summa Theologiæ," and Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania in 1737. The features are marked and handsome, expressive of vigour and intelligence, and, with the hair on the upper lip, and surmounted by the Hungarian cap, have a very oriental look. The table of contents will furnish some idea of the nature and object of this publication:

1. A translation into Magyar of two sermons by the late Mr. Tagart [The Claims of Unitarian Christianity to the respectful Consideration of the reflecting Public: London, 1832], by Aaron Buzogány, Professor of History at Clausenburg [one of the Transylvanian gentlemen who visited England a few years ago].

2. "On the Unity of God:" by George Sylvester, of Tarcsafalva [Professor of History at Clausenburg at the beginning of the present century].

3. "Love towards Christ," by Dr. Channing: translated by A. Buzogány.

4. "The Reconcilement of all Things through Christian Love," 1 Cor. xiii. 1: by John Albert [Professor of Theology in the Gymnasium at Thorda, in Transylvania].

5. "God never abandons Man," Matt. xxvii. 46: by Lewis Nagy [Professor of Greek and Exegetical Theology at Clausenburg].

6. "Light and Darkness," Matt. vi. *22, 23*: by Joseph Ferencz, Professor of Mathematics at Clausenburg. [This gentleman visited England a few years ago in company with Mr. Buzogány.]

7. "The Kingdom of God considered in its Ground, Law and Heart," Luke xii. *32*: by Stephen Gyöngyöse, pastor of the Unitarian church at Vargyas, Transylvania.

8. "On the Kingdom of God," Matt. vi. 10: by Alexander Péterfi [written for an inaugural address in a popular school].

9. "On the New Year:" by Michael Kis [pastor of the Unitarian church at Arkos, and dean of the diocese of Háromszík, author of several popular works and of a Scriptural Concordance].

10. "Lessons to be drawn from the Pilgrimage of Life," Gen. xlvii. 9: by John Kriza [the present Bishop of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania, elected by the Synod at Thorda, June 29, 1861].

11. Specimens of Prayers on different occasions.
12. Specimens of Services for Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

An Appendix contains the following articles: a Biography of Michael de Szent Abrahám, by Alexis Jakab [brother of a gentleman of the same name, known to some of our churches, who visited England in 1847]; a Biographical Notice of the Rev. E. Tagart, translated from the Christian Reformer by Joseph Ferencz; an Account of Schools in Transylvania, by Anthony Kovács; some Brief Reflections on Schools, by Samuel Brassai [Professor of Greek and Mathematics at Clausenburg, author of a book on the Principles of Logic, and of some mathematical and political works].

Some miscellaneous notices conclude the volume. A Letter from London. Death of Theodore Parker. Unitarianism in Holland. Coquerel, the Protestant Minister at Paris. Unitarianism in Glasgow. The Future of Unitarianism in America. The Germans in the region of the Mississippi. The Numbers of the Unitarians. Anecdote from Liverpool. Numbers of the Unitarians in Transylvania, estimated at 50,000. Number of Unitarian scholars and students in Transylvania: in the popular schools (to every church a school is attached), 3888—boys, 2310, girls, 1578; in the Gymnasium and College at Clausenburg, 232; in the Gymnasium at Thorda, 156; in that of Keresztur, 152. Account of Endowments since 1848. In these notices the *Inquirer* is occasionally quoted.

It will have been observed, that all the articles in this periodical are devotional, practical and statistical. Not one touches on the higher questions of theological criticism and religious philosophy. The "Summa Theologiæ" gave promise of a different result. The fact may be accounted for from the oppression under which the churches of Transylvania have long suffered, and their comparative seclusion from the general mind of Europe, under the discouragements of an adverse and persecuting government. It is a proof of the spirit of a noble race that under such circumstances they have preserved and done so much. But in the present day, no religious community can make a healthy progress without the aid of a scientific theology that is at once fearless and reverential. Let us hope that the communication now opened with England may stimulate and help our excellent friends, the teachers and pastors of Transylvania, to resume with new ardour the course of learned inquiry and mental development so auspiciously begun by their forefathers. The present relations of Hungary with Austria, if not free from anxiety, are still predominantly hopeful. The privilege of electing their Bishop, so long withheld, and recently exercised at Thorda, is a step towards the recovery of their ancient liberties, and has therefore a political as well as a religious aspect. That it was so considered by the whole population of Clausenburg, is evident from the circum-

stances which accompanied the event. I am informed by Mr. Simén, that after his election in the Synod of Thorda on the 29th of June last, Mr. Kriza, the new Bishop, was met on his return to Clausenburg by the Burgomaster of that city in a carriage and four, who took the Bishop into his carriage and conducted him, accompanied by a long procession, to Clausenburg, where he was welcomed on his arrival by the deputies and representatives of the different recognized religions. Great zeal, too, is now displayed by the Transylvanian Unitarians for the support of their various institutions. A gentleman recently deceased left the whole of his property, amounting to 16,000fl.=£1600, to the Gymnasium at Thorda. A wealthy retired tradesman, still living, has not only contributed large sums on various occasions to the support of the schools in Clausenburg, as well as to the guarantee school fund required by the Austrian Government, but has recently presented a new bell, cast at his own expense, to the Unitarian church in Clausenburg. These must be admitted to be significant signs of religious life.

The reader may have noticed, that none of the books which I have described, were printed at a Unitarian press, but some with the types of the Calvinists, others with those of the Roman Catholics. On this point, so closely connected with the history of the Transylvanian Unitarians, I have obtained from the same intelligent source so often referred to, Mr. Dominic Simén, the following particulars. It appears that in the 16th century the Unitarians of Transylvania were possessed of two printing-presses, one at Károly Jehérvár (the Alba Julia of the Romans), the other at Clausenburg, conducted by Gaspar Helsai. It is supposed that the former was originally a royal institution; but it was granted to the Unitarians by John II., king of Hungary and prince of Transylvania, on his adopting their faith, and during his lifetime all Unitarian works were printed at this press. But his successor, Stephen Bathori, surrendered it to the Jesuits. The press of Gaspar Helsai at Clausenburg was set up in 1551, in which year the Bible was here first printed in Hungarian (Magyar). In 1568, Helsai embraced Unitarianism; and from the death of John II., 1571, when the Unitarians lost the use of the press at Alba Julia, all Unitarian works were printed at the press of Helsai in Clausenburg. The Unitarians employed this press till 1660, when, being completely worn out, it became necessary to replace it by another. They appear to have remained many years without any printing establishment; but at length, in 1692, a diet granted them permission to set up a new press, and in virtue of this permission they procured one from Dantzic, to the purchase of which a zealous Unitarian lady contributed many thousand florins. Of this press they enjoyed possession only for about twenty years. In the early part of the 18th century, the jealous spirit of the Hapsburg dynasty forcibly

took from the Unitarians the cathedral of Clausenburg (built by Matthew, the son of the celebrated John, Hunniades), together with the church and gymnasium of St. Peter in the suburbs, deprived them of their printing-press, and carried off all the documents which guaranteed to them the rights, franchises and possessions granted or confirmed by John II. and the succeeding princes of Transylvania. This was in March, 1716. From that day to this, the Unitarians have never possessed a printing-press of their own. Two years afterwards, in March, 1718, the College of the Unitarians was suppressed in Clausenburg. That distinguished man, Michael de Szent Abrahám, with whose name we are now familiar, opened a receptacle for the excluded students in a private house and began to teach. In that house, adapted to the purposes of a college, the academic teaching of the Unitarians continued till 1793, when, from a fund raised by Ladislaus Zsuki, the present college buildings were erected.

In any future present of books from Transylvania, I hope a copy or two of the Hungarian Bible may be included. In the awakened attention now paid to the comparison of languages, the work would possess a great philological value. Attempts were early made to translate portions at least of the Scriptures into Magyar. The oldest known to exist was by two friars, Tamás and Bálerit, made between 1437 and 1440. It contains the books of Ruth, Esther, Baruch, Maccabees, fragments of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, and the four Gospels entire. It was intended for the use of the Hungarian Hussites. Manuscripts of it are preserved in the royal and imperial libraries of Munich and Vienna. The whole Bible was translated and printed by Bertalan in 1508. Subsequent to the Reformation, the following translations appeared: the Epistles of Paul, by Benet Komjáthy, in 1533; the New Testament, by Gabriel, in 1536; the New Testament, by John Sylvester, without a date; the Hungarian Bible, translated and printed by Gaspar Helsai in 1551 (Helsai, it will be remembered, was the manager of the earliest printing-press in Clausenburg); the Hungarian Bible, translated by Gaspar Károlyi in 1589. This last is considered the best translation of the Scriptures into Magyar, and is the received version adopted by the Protestant churches of Hungary. The second edition was revised by Albert Mólnár (the same who adapted the version and melodies of Beza and Marot to the Magyar), and was published in 1608. There have been many subsequent editions of this translation. The last appeared in 1857. Besides these, the following translations into Magyar have been published: the Bible, translated from the Vulgate by a Jesuit, Káldi, 1626; the Bible, translated by a Protestant, Komàromi Csipkés, 1635; the New Testament, translated by George Bavanyi, 1754. For this account of the versions of the Scriptures into Magyar, I am again indebted to my friend Mr.

Simén. It will serve, I think, to shew that from a time anterior to the Reformation a lively zeal for the Scriptures has never been wanting in the Magyar race.

In engaging in correspondence with the Unitarians of Transylvania, and attempting to give the English reader some notion of their theological and religious literature, I have again and again been almost startled to find myself writing to and of a people, in speech and lineage so entirely distinct from ourselves, who have perhaps more pure Asiatic blood in their veins than any European nation except the Turks, but who, through the whole of their past history and in the noble struggle for their ancient rights in which they are still engaged, have shewn a manliness of character and a tenacity of purpose, a devotion to civil and religious freedom and a capacity for constitutional government, which strikingly remind one of the Anglo-Norman stock. Their literature, which we have reason to believe is rich in poetry, history and the various forms of religious thought, is shut up in a language which stands alone among the dialects of Europe, which is unconnected either with the Semitic or with the Indo-European family; and coming probably direct from the highlands of Central Asia, possesses a remote affinity with the Turkish and the Finnish. Our friend, Sir John Bowring, was one of the first to make known this literature to Western Europe in his translated specimens of Magyar poetry. It is always refreshing to meet old or common thoughts in a new dress. They seem to acquire a fresh significance from the novel medium through which they are transmitted to us. As we have so many thoughts and feelings, so many remembrances and aspirations, in common with the Unitarians of Transylvania, I cannot but hope that some one will be found among our young and rising men to take up the study of the Magyar, and make us better acquainted with the early history of a community who were so largely concerned in some of the most remarkable movements of thought springing out of the first impulse of the Reformation. On this subject I can hardly doubt, that Transylvania and Poland have much to tell which is yet unknown. Documents bearing on it, printed and unprinted, exist, I am told, in abundance in the library at Clausenburg, and, as a Polish gentleman once informed me, may be found to this day reposited in the old libraries still belonging to the residences of the Polish nobility.

Nevertheless, I have been made strongly to feel, while engaged on this subject, what a disadvantage it is to a people to have their national thought shut up in a language which is known to very few except themselves. It insulates them from the general republic of letters; and while it is favourable to earnestness and originality, prevents them from exercising a just influence on other nations and receiving from them a useful stimulus in return.

The case of Holland is in point. Since the disuse of Latin as a medium of learned intercourse, her influence on the rest of Europe has declined; for her own language is little cultivated by foreigners. Her scholars now have less weight and authority than they had in the first half of the last century. Among other causes of this, one, doubtless, is the failure of a ready means of communication with the general mind of Europe.*

With the development of the nationalities of Europe, an issue to which a political enthusiasm is now strongly directed, this question of general literary intercommunication must acquire a new importance, and will sooner or later demand some practical solution. The liberals of the day are urging forward two distinct objects which, as commonly understood, seem incompatible. They demand at once the existence of independent nationalities, and an unrestricted interchange of thought between them. How are these objects to be combined? The highest product and surest witness of a true nationality is a literature; and there can be no national literature without a language of its own. The language in which men habitually think and feel is the only adequate medium for their best, their deepest and most intimate thoughts. I should consider the extinction of any language capable of a living and growing literature to be a positive misfortune, a closing up of one of the sources of spiritual wealth to the human race. Spain, Holland, Hungary, are rich in historical traditions and the possibilities of a mental future. Russia has an unique nationality and a vast political future. I trust we may add in time Poland and Bohemia to the list of national potencies. But how are these peoples ever to become nations in the truest sense without a language and literature of their own? And if they preserve that, by what means are they to carry on a ready intercourse with one another, and circulate the free current of European ideas? If a man in France or England wants some special piece of information from Russia or Hungary, must he for that purpose master the languages of those countries, which may have no further interest for him, and no connection with his habitual course of study? This is no imaginary difficulty, but one that must more and more force itself on the attention of the European public. A distinction obviously may be made between the use of language, for the purposes of literature in the highest sense—the utterance of free, original, creative thought—and as a mere intellectual medium for science, for the communication of knowledge and the dissemination of intelligence. The former object can be only adequately effected through a people's own language. The latter may be attained by the nations of the civilized world agreeing on some language to be used by them as

* M. Chantepie de la Saussaye *(La Crise Religieuse en Hollande, Leyde,* 1860*)* has specially noticed this circumstance as accounting for the diminished literary reputation of his country.

the recognized medium of learned and scientific intercourse. To fulfil this last purpose, two courses are open to adoption: either to select one of the languages now spoken, say the French, or else to go back to the use of Latin, once the universal language of the learned throughout Europe, and still not entirely disused in some departments of learning. Of the two methods, I must confess I am old-fashioned and pedantic enough to think that there are reasons of considerable weight for preferring the last. There might be some invidiousness and some real difficulty in deciding which of the European languages should enjoy this distinction above the rest. But, independently of that, I think the ascendancy of any one living language would be injurious in its influence on the free growth of independent national literatures. Who can deny that the predominance of French in the last and the preceding century exerted an evil effect on the style and even on the thought of English and German writers? From the possibility of such an influence, the use of a dead language would be wholly free, as it would be used exclusively for scientific purposes. To such purposes it could be quite as easily accommodated as any living tongue, even should a new nomenclature be required. The precision and brevity of the Latin well adapt it to the exact formulas which physical science in every direction, under the extending influence of mathematics, is now universally assuming. As it is, nearly all the new terms required by the present state of science are taken either from the Latin or the Greek. For the general purposes of history and philology, the occasional use of Latin has long been acknowledged. If I remember right, no less a scientific authority than D'Alembert foresaw and deplored the consequences that would result from the gradual disuse of Latin as the language of science and learning, which even in his day was beginning to be perceptible. But the strongest argument for the retention of Latin seems to me, that its application in this way has been to a large extent a *fait accompli*. It is easy to retain and revive, where it is difficult to introduce. The learned and scientific of past centuries, almost up to the present day, have constantly written in Latin. Familiarity with it keeps open the door to their accumulated treasures, and communicates to those who follow in the same track, a kind of natural enthusiasm for enlarging and completing them. The richest literatures of Europe have in one sense come out of the Latin, and it stands in a sort of maternal relation to them all. The acquisition of it forms already a part of the mental training of every educated man. With no more loss of time and labour, perhaps with less, than is now expended on it, if it were only taught thoroughly and rationally, men might not only be enabled to read it with ease through life, which scarce one educated man in a thousand can now do, but, should occasion require it, might even write and speak it with sufficient fluency, correctness and perspicuity,

to answer all the purposes of obtaining and communicating information. Quite as much useful knowledge might still be acquired at school as at present, where five or six years are often wasted on the pretence of learning what is never ultimately acquired. The substitution of solid grounding in a language, which opens an access to all learning, for the cram and the superficiality which too often disgrace our modern methods of education—the doing a little well in place of attempting much very ill—would raise the tone and improve the character of our higher culture, and enable our youth to master any branch of science to which they might wish to give their attention, with a more disciplined intellect and a wider command of all the sources of knowledge. I would invite the attention of our young and rising scholars to this subject.

London, July 18, 1861. JOHN JAMES TAYLER.

M. RENAN ON THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF MODERN SOCIETIES.*

HAVING viewed the question from all sides, we arrive at the conclusion that the Catholic establishment founded on an eternal alienation of a portion of Italy cannot be maintained. The imprudence Catholicism committed by its ultra-centralizing spirit is now becoming dangerously evident. They may curse the day Cæsar Borgia conquered provinces for the Papacy by means approved by Machiavel. Ah, Gonfalonier of the holy see, that was an unlucky gift you bestowed! Now there are regrets for compromises that might have been, and which would have made inconsistency possible and easy. At last it is discovered that an Italian principality has failed as a means of securing the independence of religion. Thus Catholicism will be brought to prefer a simple appeal to men's conscience to a system of protectorates. On one hand, it will be strong enough to render a national church administered by the State impossible; on the other, it will be unable to defend its central establishment, but will remain in the position of a powerful free association resting upon a widely ramifying moral foundation. That day the Church will call out for liberty with earnest sincerity, and liberty will render her the good service she stands in need of. I trust no true liberal will ironically remind her of the time when she arrogated to herself the divine right of reigning, and treated Dissenters as rebels, and rejected equality of rights as an outrage upon truth.

God forbid I should ever forget the grandeur of Catholicism and the part it played in man's long struggle against ignorance

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* Continued from p. 492.

and sin! What virtue still springs up from amidst the troubled waters of this inexhaustible fountain whence humanity so long drank life and death! Even in this age of degeneracy, and in spite of faults carried to extremes with unparalleled obstinacy, what proofs of vigour Catholicism still exhibits! What fertility of expedients in its ministrations of charity! What noble hearts among the faithful that drink from her breasts but the milk and honey, leaving to others the gall and wormwood! How, at the sight of her tents ranged along the plain, and in the midst of which still walks Jehovah, we are tempted, with the unfaithful prophet, to bless those we were called to curse, and to cry out, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" Notwithstanding the limitations Catholicism imposes on certain directions of intellectual development, how many minds, but for her religious training, would have lain buried in vulgarity and ignorance! Where shall we look for anything more venerable than Saint Sulpice, this living image of ancient manners, this school of virtue and conscience, this combination of François de Sales, of Vincent de Paul, of Fenelon? Even in the amalgamation of Catholicism and the wreck of old French society, in this neo-Catholicism, shallow and insipid it may be, yet what distinction lingers! what a pure, good atmosphere! what simple efforts towards the right! Ah! let us not think that God has for ever deserted the old Church! Her youth will be renewed like the eagle's; she will flourish again like the palm-tree. But she must pass through the crucible; her earthly props must be broken; her hopes no longer fixed on earth, she must efface from her proud basilick, *Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* She must not feel herself humiliated when she occupies a position in the world which will be only great to the eyes of the spirit.

IV. Mankind will be eternally religious, and Christianity, in its large sense, its final religious word. Christianity is susceptible of indefinite transformations. All official organizations of Christianity, whether under the form of a national church or under the ultramontane form, are destined to disappear. A free, individual Christianity, with innumerable internal varieties, such as existed in the first three centuries, appears to us to be the religious future of Europe.

Those who believe that religion is destined to gradually lose its importance in the affairs of the world, and those who see in a kind of deism the final term of religion, are both equally mistaken. Religion is a thing *sui generis:* the philosophy of the schools cannot be substituted for it. Deism pretends to be scientific, and is not more so than religion: it is an abstract mythology; but it is a mythology. It requires miracles. The providential intervention of its God in the world does not essentially differ from that of Joshua making the sun stand still. Let

us add that dry, narrow dogmas, having nothing plastic or traditional, not lending themselves to interpretations, are a much narrower prison for the human mind than is the popular mythology. Herder, Fichte, Schleiermacher, were not orthodox enough to fill the chair of natural religion in Voltaire's sense; they were excellent theologians. The religious and anti-dogmatic principle proclaimed by Jesus will go on eternally developing itself with an infinite flexibility, giving rise to an ever more and more refined symbolism, and creating for the different stages of human culture formulas appropriated to the capacity of each. I know that to many this solution will appear utopian, and they would be right were I speaking of measures to be taken or legislations to be reformed; but it is not through their agency that the great transformations of humanity are wrought. Legislation relating to worship may remain as it is; the only question interesting to the philosopher is to know in what direction the world is tending, or, in other terms, to see clearly the consequences involved in the *faits accomplis*. Now, if there is one irrevocable principle established, it is that the domain of the soul is the domain of liberty and individuality. The two great forces of modern Europe, French democracy and the genius of the English nation, are agreed on this point. Ideas contrary to it belong to a party that have no future.

All the Faubourg Saint-Germain, with its oracle, M. de Maistre, weigh less in the world's scale than do a few Manchester Quakers. How would it be possible for those Christians who are scattered at the uttermost limits of America and Oceanica, to preserve with old Rome, the common mother of us all, the same ties of obedience as those who owe to her their civilization and faith? Free Christianity only can be eternal and universal. The idea of a spiritual power in contradistinction to temporal power, must be modified. Most assuredly the spiritual is not the temporal; but the spiritual does not constitute a *power*, it constitutes a *liberty*. If there could be here below a spiritual power, the boldest paradoxes of Gregory VII. would have been but the truth: the kingdom of souls would be everything—the kingdom of bodies but little in comparison. In reality, the kingdom of souls only exists in the region of souls, in the world of pure ideas. Liberty is limited in the material order of things. I may not encroach on my neighbour's field,—this is just and necessary, that he may not encroach on mine; but my neighbour does me no wrong in having whatever opinions seem right to him on God, the world and society,—he cannot lessen my right to hold opinions exactly opposite. The Church, if we are to understand by the word a power armed with other means than those of free propagandism, must disappear, to make way, not for the State, but for liberty. As long as an official establishment of religion lasts, it is better the two authorities should be

kept distinct; but the ideal we should strive to reach is the pure dominion of the spirit. Not as it is understood by sectarians and fanatics, but in the sense attached to it by true liberals, that a creed is only valuable so far as it has been acquired by individual reflection, and a religious act meritorious only when spontaneous.

Protestantism is nearest this ideal; more and more freeing itself from the bonds that connect it with the State, it is rapidly reaching its final consequence in the free organization of religion and the union of Christians, not in the dead letter of symbolism, but in the pure religious idea, such as the gospel first enunciated. Except the semi-ludicrous reaction which was represented in Prussia by the *parti de la croix*, Protestantism in England, France, Holland and Switzerland, is daily making palpable progress in this direction. Particularly in France, the Reformed Church is passing through a crisis, the issue of which must deeply interest the philosopher and the religious mind. Obliged in self-defence to serry their ranks, these churches continued until late years shut up in a narrow Calvinistic symbolism. Breadth of scope in religious ideas is the result of years of peace. Nor should we demand of the sons of martyrs to criticise the symbols their fathers suffered for. Large formulas are spread over too wide a space to defend themselves, and do not take deep hold enough of the whole man to enable him to stand out against one hundred and fifty years' proscription.

French Protestantism should be judged, not by what it had become under the odious pressure of persecution, but by what it would have been had it been free. Fifty years' liberty has sufficed to restore it to its natural direction. At the period of its restoration, a pastor of Nîmes, Samuel Vincent, though knowing little of Germanic Christianity, proclaimed, with rare precision, views which since have become axioms upon the nature of religious belief. Since then a current of high scholarship, proceeding chiefly from Strasburg, has renewed the tradition of the learned reformed schools of the 16th and 17th centuries. French Protestantism will at last come to see that, if it be not a free religion, it will have no ground to stand on, that the age will not become Calvinist, that it will not quit the Church for the Bible, the Council of Trent for the symbol of La Rochelle. The old French Protestant confession may render important services as a nursery of enlightened men, but as a special sect it cannot count on any long future. Catholicism, with its proud audacity of affirmation and overweening idea of its privileges, will not so easily accommodate itself to these necessary transformations. It must pass through many tribulations before it renounces its earthly reign, its anti-christian Khalifat. In order that my idea be fully expressed, I must say that it seems to me that a schism can hardly be avoided between the antagonistic

elements Catholicism harbours in her bosom. The political party, immersing itself deeper and deeper in intrigues, and the sincerely religious party, more and more troubled by this exclusive trust in human means, will end in discovering that they do not adore the same God. The least misunderstanding, skilfully worked on, that might arise on the death of a Pope (let our readers peruse the first two pages of the history of the great Western schism) would bring this latent secession out in the form of a *fait accompli*. Every great religious crisis is preceded by a period of timid endeavours, during which the mental germ gently ferments in the hearts of a few, and reformers humbly bow to the decree of the Church that condemns them. This is the phase we have now reached. Lamennai's rupture with the Church was an isolated fact to be explained by his *Breton* bluntness, ever addicted to extremes. Lacordaire's and Montalembert's docility will be proof against any trial. If we measure the space that elapsed between Joachim de Flore and Luther, passing by Pierre-Jean d'Olive, Tauler, Conecte, Savonarola, we shall have an estimate of the time it takes to make a saint a leader of a heresy. True, in our day, humanity moves at a rapid pace, but great is the long-suffering of pious souls; it will take at least two generations more before Rosmini or Montalembert could be the ancestors of a schismatic.

An objection may be raised which I shall here anticipate. It may be said to me, "You wish to revive and strengthen religion, and you seek to withdraw it from all connection with the State; while you are opposed, on the other hand, to its being an organized power which the State must reckon with: do you not perceive that by such a course you lower religion, that no longer being a State affair, it will be put on a par with opinions on literature and art, which Government takes no heed of, deeming them beneath its notice? You who know the conditions of liberty, do you not see you are pulling down the last tower in which she defends herself? What! in our dismantled society you applaud the destruction of our last feudal fortress, forgetting that the day may come when it will be the only refuge left for minds that refuse to bend before the formidable power of the State? In fine, in the midst of the universal degradation of Europe, in the midst of the silence created by the equal subjection of all, who resisted? who spoke? The Pope, the Bishops. Equality is no protection; the code is no shelter. If old Rome had had priests of noble character,—if the pontifical power, instead of being absorbed by the emperor, had created bishops,—Cæsarean despotism would have been impossible. Liberty results from privilege. Let the Church have its privilege."

By all means let the Church have its privilege and liberty, if I am allowed to have mine as well; but it has always been the fault of the Church to appeal to the principle of the State to

stifle dissent in the name of national unity. Who, more than the Church, invoked this formidable auxiliary to crush those it looked on as enemies? The exaggerated idea of the State entertained in France, and the difficulties encountered by the constitutional system, are due chiefly to Catholicism. The notion that those things about which the State does not occupy itself are therefore less noble, is the very evil to be combated; and does not the protection which several social interests require against the encroaching tendencies of the Church constitute a good part of the power of the State? Let the Church have its feudal organization, but let the whole system of free organizations be revived; let other churches, other associations of all kinds be formed with equal rights, otherwise there is flagrant injustice. An official Church establishment may be a condition of liberty in countries already free; but such an establishment in centralized countries is an infringement of liberty. As M. de Tocqueville remarks, "Far from excluding each other, political liberty and liberty of thought imply each the other; and were I to choose between them, I confess I should choose the second; for a man may be an accomplished man in a country where he cannot enjoy political liberty, but without religious and philosophical liberty man must be inferior."

Thus we find liberty to be the solution of the religious question, still more than it is the solution of moral, social, political or industrial questions; and the reason is simple. The object of religion is morality. Now morality which is not the result of liberty is not morality. Religion is a problem which the mind creates in applying itself to it: the true and good religion for each individual is that which he believes and loves. The liberal principle, *par excellence*, is, that man is a soul, that he should be dealt with through his soul, and that all that does not change the soul is of no value. Persistent justice, according with inexorable firmness liberty to all, even to those who, were they the masters, would not accord it to their adversaries, such is the sole issue reason can see to the grave problems of our day. I am inclined to believe that if, in 1849, an impassable liberalism had been opposed to socialistic errors, that the dangerous virus which was driven back into the social body by the measures of repression then adopted would have lost all its power, that much misery would have been spared, and that the heavy obstructions imposed on the liberty of all would not have existed.

Religion, more than anything, would gain by this system. Many gross associations of ideas, most prejudicial to the elevation of souls, would fall of themselves. The hypocrisy that prevailed during the latter part of Louis XIV.'s reign, treated as synonymous the libertine and the free-thinker: this will disappear. Official Catholicism too often leads to this confusion; it is humiliating to think that but for the help of a quarrel between a

village libertine and his curé, the revolution of the 18th century, which founded the independence of thought, would not have been accomplished. The example of Italy, wavering since the middle ages between materialism and devotion, consumed at once by religion and credulity, unable to throw off Catholicism, yet feeling itself paralyzed by it,—this we cannot too seriously meditate. In fine, the superb indifference of Paduan averrhoïsm which in the 16th century seemed such excellent policy, is now proved to have been a mal-address. The power of an exclusive religion is not to be combated by false protestations of respect, but by an indefatigable appeal to liberty.

Dogmatism, believing itself in possession of the eternal formula of truth, and scepticism, denying truth, are both false guides in the direction of religious affairs. Nothing proceeding from humanity is to be despised; but, on the other hand, nothing is to be adopted in an absolute manner. The conditions of civilization are like those of a limited problem, whereof all data carried to extreme lead to an impossibility. We should not imprudently tamper with those essential conditions of the human medium, where a degree more or less of heat may make the difference of life or death.

It often happens in this order of things that what appears to be an evil is the framework of what is most vital. All prejudice is wrong, and yet the man with prejudices is far superior to the apathetic, characterless man, who is one of the types of our age of indifference. All abuses are to be blamed, yet society lives upon abuses. All dogmatic affirmation comprised in a finite phrase is liable to objection, yet the day humanity ceases to affirm, it will cease to be. All religious form is imperfect, yet religion cannot exist without form; it is only true in its quintessence, yet over-subtleize religion and you destroy it. The philosopher who, struck by the prejudices, abuses, narrow formalism, he sees around him, should take refuge in abstractions and believe he had found the truth, would be substituting for reality what has no existence. The wise man is he who sees that all is form, prejudice, symbol; and that the form, the prejudice, the symbol, are necessary, useful and true. Dogmatism is presumption; for if amongst the millions who by turns have thought they possessed the truth, not one was completely right, how can we hope to be more fortunate? But as we do not reproach the painter with inconsistency for his endeavour to represent the ideal under finite forms, so in like manner let us admit and love the symbol, once it has been a living symbol in the conscience of humanity. Without aiming at absolute perfection, which, were we rigorously to push things to their conclusions, would be annihilation, we may trust that an immense career is opened to reason and liberty. The problem of the true and just is like that of squaring the circle,—we may go on for ever approximating

towards without ever attaining it. One half of the human soul wages eternal war against religion, which, taking its stand on the other half, eternally resists. If religion were merely an error of humanity, like astrology, witchcraft and other chimeras, which formed part of the general creed for centuries, science would long ago have swept it away, as it has banished belief in ghosts and witches from all but the lowest regions of society. If, on the other hand, religion were merely the fruit of a simple calculation, whereby man counted on reaping the benefits at the other side of the grave of the virtuous investments he had made at this side, he would be most religious when most selfish. Whereas it is in his best moments that man is religious; it is when he is most pure that he believes that virtue harmonizes with the eternal order of things; it is in his most disinterested mood that he finds death revolting and absurd; and it is impossible not to believe that it is in such moments man's vision is clearest. Which is right, the selfish dissipated man, or the virtuous thoughtful one? If, as the Italian sophists of the 16th century would have it, religion were the invention of the simple and weak, how is it that it is precisely the finest natures that are most religious? Let us, then, boldly say that religion is the product of normal man, that he is nearest the truth when most religious and when most assured of an infinite destiny; but let us put from us all absolute trust in the images that represent this destiny, and believe only that the reality is far superior to all that heart can desire or imagination conceive. Perhaps something analogous to what passed in physical science may occur in the sphere of religious ideas. At first, it may be thought that modern science, in putting an end to the primitive system in which all the phenomena of nature was the work of free agents, would destroy the beauty of the universe, and reduce the whole to a flat realism without mystery. Many a tender soul wept to lose this world of enchantment in which ignorant humanity dwelt,—this world in which all was full of life and feeling and passion; they believed that nature would be shorn of half her glory by science, which on the contrary reveals her infinite wonders. The ideas which to antiquity seemed most exaggerated are now found to be narrow, mean, childish, compared with the reality. The earth like a disk, the sun no larger than the Morea, the stars rolling some leagues high in a solid vault, a closed universe shut in by walls, —such was the best system they could imagine to explain the world; and who will regret it in the presence of that revealed by science? The mechanical hypothesis of Newton, is it not far grander than that of angels moving the spheres? and the history of the globe that geology is opening up to us, is it not far more poetical than that of a world fashioned by the hand five thousand years ago? Let us boldly believe that the system of the moral world is in the same way superior to all our symbols. Let us

not weep for the loss of the childish chimeras of less-developed times. The dream will always pale before the reality. Let inflexible science attack with its rigorous methods those problems resolved centuries ago by sentiment and imagination. Who knows if the day will not come when the metaphysics and theology of the past will not be to those revealed by the progress of speculation what the *cosmos* of Anaximenes or Indicopluntès is to the *cosmos* of Laplace and Humboldt?

ERNEST RENAN.

PRAYER TO CHRIST IN UNITARIAN WORSHIP.*

I NOW proceed to the historical evidence adduced by Mr. Martineau in proof that the early church invoked Christ. Before I do so, I must correct a misconception he conveys, as if I denied that speculation had a part in the early corruption of Christian doctrine. I cite his words: "I must confess that out of all possible points from which to deduce the corruptions of Christian doctrine, this theory of the rhetorical origin of evil (*the* evil?) seems to me the most unreal" (p. 224). "The *cultus* followed the doctrine and did not lead it" (p. 224). Not to a "rhetorical origin" did I ascribe the evil at all; nor did I ascribe the evil solely to the influence of the imagination. Distinctly did I recognize two sources of the evil. These were the imagination and speculation. Yet Mr. Martineau writes as if I denied the latter, and for the former substituted rhetoric. That I have thus rightly stated the view I put forward, appears from these my words: "Indeed, when scope had once been given to *the imagination* or the feelings, the descent to the worship of Christ was easy, if not inevitable" (p. 80). "So long as the Hebrew church remained in the ascendant, 'the book of Psalms' was the Christian hymn-book. Only when Greek culture, together with the *Greek ideas*, became strong and prevalent in the church, did 'the Psalms of David' give way to the creations of the Hellenico-Christian muse. In the same degree was the primitive Unitarianism forced into the background *by the Greek* SPECULATION, *refinements and systematizing which issued in the trinity of the pseudo-Athanasian Creed.* Accordingly, David's songs (ἔπη Δανιδικά) became a phrase to denote the older Unitarian poems or psalms in contradistinction to the new compositions which, as proceeding from innovating individuals desirous of introducing their novel and unchristian SPECULATIONS into the Church under the enticing forms of song and music, received the

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* Continued from p. 472.

name of ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί (psalms of individuals) to distinguish them from the psalms of the church, or such as were universally sung in public worship. These novelties in hymnology were expressly forbidden by the Unitarian Bishop of Antioch (about 250 A.D.), on the ground of their being novel as well as their containing false doctrine, while he insisted on the Psalms of David alone being sung" (pp. 83, 84). Let the reader now judge how far it is correct to represent my account of the origin of "the evil" as being "rhetorical."

That I am justified in referring the evil in part to the imagination, scarcely needs proof. Yet proof I will give. Ephraem, the Syrian poet, to whom I referred in my original paper (p. 85), in his Margarita or "the Pearl, concerning Faith,"—of which Dr. Burgess says,* "It is highly *imaginative*, and breathes in every word a devoted love to the Redeemer, his doctrine and his church,"—distinctly shews how his teachings were coloured and controlled by his fancy:

> Once on a time,
> I took up, my brethren,
> A precious pearl;
> I saw in it mysteries
> Relating to the kingdom;
> Images and types
> Of the high Majesty.
> It became a fountain,
> And I drank from it
> The mysterious things of the Son.

The same Ephraem, in a poetic piece of autobiography, avows that he cultivated metrical composition in order to correct "the offensive blasphemies" of the poems of the Syrian poet, Bardesanes; and an anonymous biographer of Ephraem tells us, "The blessed Ephraem, seeing that all men were led by music, conveyed in *odes* things of spiritual wisdom concerning the nativity and baptism and fasting, and concerning the whole dispensation and the sufferings and resurrection and ascension of Christ; and he, like a father, stood in the midst of them ('the daughters of the convent'), a spiritual harper, and arranged for them different kinds of songs, and taught them the variation of chants, until the whole city was gathered together to him, and *the party of the adversary was put to shame and defeated.*" "The ecclesiastical historian," Sozomen, gives a somewhat similar account, excepting that, instead of the heresy of Bardesanes, he lays more stress on the influence of Harmonius, as stimulating Ephraem in his public labours. He says, "Now Ephraem, when he saw that the Syrians were charmed with the fine words and the rhythmical melody of Harmonius, and that by means of these they were induced to enter-

* Syriac Hymns: Introduction, p. 67.

tain his opinions, although he was destitute of Grecian culture, applied himself to master the metres of Harmonius; and to the tunes used by him in his writings he adapted other words consonant with the doctrines of the church; such are his compositions in divine hymns and in praise of holy men. From that time the Syrians sung the words of Ephraem according to the metrical rules of Harmonius." My authority* adds, "These historical accounts harmonize with the facts of the case, as exhibited in Ephraem's own statements and in his extant writings. In whatever state he found metrical hymnology, and whoever preceded him in the formation of its rules, his genius seized it and applied it *for the purpose of influencing* the minds of his countrymen, and rescuing holy truth from error and corruption." Here we have clear historical evidence to the effect that the *cultus* did influence the doctrine, and that poetry and song were employed for the express purpose of extinguishing heresy. In other words, we have here the speculative orthodoxy of the fourth century making war on the existing Unitarian worship by means of newly-composed psalms and hymns. So far back does the controversy I have called forth date in Christian history. If corroboration were needed, it might be found in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie* (article Ephräm), where Ephraem is stated to have in his hymns done battle against the then prevailing heresies of Bardesanes and Harmonius, the Arians and Sabellians, &c. The same testimony is borne by the famous Cyclopedia of Ersch and Gruber (under Ephräm Syrus), where it is said that Ephraem contended against "Bardesanes and Harmonius, against Arians and Sabellians." I add another authority,† the rather because the passage gives some account of Harmonius mentioned above: "Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes, instructed in the schools of Athens, had not made the best use of his shining ability; his songs, the product of an un-pious (that is, not orthodox) state of mind, had won the hearts of the people by their pleasing forms and charming melodies,—poisonous fruits in golden salvers. To these Ephraem opposed holy songs which he composed to the melodies of Harmonius, and which, well received by the people, soon caused the un-pious songs of Harmonius to be forgotten." It may be well to give a specimen or two from Ephraem's poetry, especially as the forms, being new, throw light on the age of the "Morning Hymn," respecting which I say, "In the entreaty here put up to Christ, the evil has begun" (p. 27), but which Mr. Martineau, influenced by a conjecture of Bunsen's, inclines (p. 222) to make contemporaneous with the apostle John, if not Pliny's *Carmen Christo*,‡ though it is not known to exist before

* Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus, translated, &c., by the Rev. Henry Burgess, Ph.D. London, 1853; Introduction, p. 37, seq.

† Aschbach Kirchen-Lexicon, II. 616.

‡ Christianity and Mankind, Vol. II. p. 100.

the fourth century, and though the restoration of it effected by Bunsen proceeds on the very process* which is by implication imputed to me in this sentence: "Only we must not first determine their age by their doctrine, and then call them as witnesses to shew how the doctrine grew" (p. *222*). This is not the way I take. I point to Ephraem's words, and in effect say, Here is the language of the fourth century. This language corresponds with that of "the Morning Hymn;" but this language has been proved to be employed in order to suppress the then existing Unitarianism, as expressed in sacred song. In consequence, "the Morning Hymn" is of a comparatively late date, and cannot be Pliny's *Carmen Christo.* Here follow Ephraem's words. I cite the last of nine stanzas similar in import:

Before the voice of the trumpet
Shall shout aloud
To announce thy coming,
Have pity on thy servants,
Who pray earnestly to thee;
Have mercy on me, O Lord,
For thou art abundant in mercy!

Here is that manifest "entreaty put up to Christ" which at once begins the evil and denotes its age. How much Ephraem's muse was antagonistic, and antagonistic to Unitarianism, appears in these stanzas taken from his poem, *Adversus Scrutatores*, or "Against the Examiners,"—men, that is, who questioned the incoming falsities:

The standard of the truth
Is set up in the Scriptures;
But the blinded have forsaken it,
Who have begun to shoot their arrows
At the Lord of Angels.

Now this is the standard:
That the Father is one,
Not capable of division;
And that the Son is one,
Who cannot be comprehended.

Let there be stillness
Among the orators;
Let there be silence
Among the investigators
Respecting hidden mysteries!

There (in the Scriptures) is displayed
The likeness of the Father;

* These are the words to which I refer: "The later church has undoubtedly referred the words to Christ, as heading the invocation of him. But certainly this in itself points to the post-Nicene period, when such expressions as the ancient church never dreamt of applying to Christ were studiously applied (or made to apply) to him." Bunsen's Hippol. II. p. 108.

There also is portrayed
The image of the Son
And of the Holy Ghost.

There are appointed
The names of these Three,
One after the other,
In the confession of faith
At the rite of baptism.

But an occasion hath arisen
To throw this into confusion;
"For it is proper," *they say,*
That we should scrutinize these names,
In order that we may comprehend them.

Captious *inquiry* hath now begun;
Disputation hath entered;
War is commenced,
And the truth hath fled away!

It is therefore preferable
That without research
We should profess the truth,
Than that by such research
We should want it altogether.

Again, it is better
That in simplicity
We should inherit life,
Than by much knowledge
We should inherit death.

Glory be to the Father,
Who is concealed in his own being,—
Glory be to the Son,
Who is concealed in his generation,—
By the seal of silence!

Give thanks to the Father,
Who cannot be circumscribed,—
Give thanks to the Son,
Who is unsearchable,—
With the Holy Ghost!

Increase in me, O Lord,
Both silence and the gift of speech,
That by them I may be saved;
While I put away inquiry respecting thee,
And utter thy praise!

More marked is the opposition to the Unitarians of the time, in the piece entitled *Adversus Hæreses* ("Against Heresies"), our extract from which is limited to one verse by regard to space:

Come, let us further consider this way
Which the heretics tread in a by-course,

Having stolen and arranged in order
The waymarks of our true King.
Lo! the names of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost!
The standard of the chrism also, and of baptism;
The breaking of bread and the cup of salvation;
The stolen Scriptures also, which they have corrupted.
Blessed be the King of kings,
Whose way is like mountains which cannot be concealed!

These same scrutineers are argued with in another piece, "The Mystery of the Trinity" *(Adversus Scrutatores)*:

Gold is a single substance,
A flower is threefold;
Stone is a single substance,
But fire is threefold;
For flame and heat and light
Are mingled in it.
For not by one example only ascendeth
The language of created things!
Therefore *without disputation*
Receive, as they have been preached to us,
These threefold arrangements.

Of course, if these analogies called forth objections, the objectors received rebuke:

That he may be *reproved*
Who is haughty and arrogant.
For if he is not competent
To attain to the similitudes,
How can he *madly* perplex himself
With the height of Divine Majesty?

After all his zeal, Ephraem falls short of the true orthodoxy of the *Symbolum Quincunque*, but he has no small share of the spirit of self-assertion, which from an early age to the present hour characterizes men who love their own opinions more than they love God's truth, and who in their own eyes are too important to allow their sayings and doings to be questioned with impunity.

That the battle of doctrine was actually fought on the ground of the Christian hymnal, is indeed proved by the conduct of the Unitarian bishop, Paul of Samosata, who, Eusebius tells us, "abolished the psalms which were sung in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ as novel and the compositions of modern men" (p. 84). "To this statement by one ante-Nicene Unitarian," replies Mr. Martineau, "it is sufficient to oppose the assertion of another at least a generation earlier: *Artemon* declares that it is precisely in the old hymns of the church that he finds divine honours rendered to Christ, but that side by side with these, in the ordinary language of belief, a doctrine like his own has always found expression" (p. *223*). The opponents of Unitarianism have

here, as in other parts of his writings, reason to acknowledge aid from Mr. Martineau. An important service is this which states that an eminent Unitarian, living early in the third century, "declares that it is precisely in the old hymns of the church that he finds divine honours rendered to Christ." I confess I read the statement with astonishment, believing as I did, on no slight evidence, that the early Unitarians maintained that from the first divine honours were rendered solely to the God and Father of Christ. With peculiar interest, therefore, did I turn to the authority given by Mr. Martineau in support of his statement. Opening the ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius, at the twenty-eighth chapter of his fifth book, I read the words on which the statement is founded; but these words are not the words of Artemon; they are the words of an opponent. How the mistake came to be made I cannot tell, but a mistake it is. Eusebius begins the chapter referred to in these terms: "In an elaborate piece of one of those authors ('orthodox and ecclesiastical persons,' they have just been called), *composed* AGAINST *the heresy of Artemon*, there is extant a certain relation very accommodate to the history we now have in hand." The relation is then given. In order to speak with effect "against the heresy of Artemon," the heresy is stated: "For they (the Unitarians) affirm that all the ancients and the very apostles received and taught the same things which they now assert, and that the preaching of the truth (Unitarianism) was preserved till the times of Victor, who from Peter was thirteenth Bishop of Rome; but from the time of Zephyrinus, the truth has been much adulterated." Then follows the intended confutation: "Peradventure this saying of theirs might seem probable, did not in the first place the sacred Scriptures contradict them." The contradiction is followed up by citing Justin (Justus), Miltiades, Titian and Clemens, "in all which books the divinity of Christ is maintained. But who is he that is ignorant of the books of Irenæus, Melito and the rest, which declare Christ to be God and man? The psalms also, and hymns of the brethren, written at the beginning by the faithful, do set forth the praises of Christ, the word of God, and attribute divinity to him. Seeing, therefore, that *this ecclesiastical opinion* has been manifestly declared for so many years, how can it be that the ancients should have preached that doctrine which these men assert till the times of Victor?" More follows of the same tendency. The meaning of the passage is the opposite to that which Mr. Martineau makes it bear. While he makes Artemon "declare that it is precisely in the old hymns of the church that he finds divine honours rendered to Christ, but that side by side with these in the ordinary language of belief a doctrine like his own has always found expression," Eusebius makes Artemon declare that his doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ "was taught by all the ancients and the very apostles."

The misquotation is so very extraordinary that I could not satisfy myself until, turning from the old Cambridge translation, I consulted Bohn's, where I found the sense substantially the same. I then recollected that Mr. Martineau had given a second authority, as thus—"Theodoret, Hær. fab. ii. 4." I went to Theodoret, and what did I find? I translate, as literally as the two idioms will allow, the entire passage from the original Greek: "And a certain Artemon, whom some name Artemas, thought of the God of the universe the same as we think, declaring Him to be the Maker of the whole; but he said that the Lord Jesus Christ was a mere man, born of a Virgin, but morally superior to the prophets; and, misinterpreting the sense of the holy Scriptures, he said that the apostles preached this doctrine, and that those who came after them ascribed to Christ a divinity which did not belong to him." The simple truth is, that Mr. Martineau puts into Artemon's mouth the words which were used for his confutation; but where he got his "side by side with these," &c., I cannot even conjecture. As much am I at a loss for the authority on which he employs these words: "The use by both these Unitarians (Paul of Samosata and Artemon) of such restrained modes of invocation to Christ as had prevailed in the apostolic age." Here are three implied statements: first, that modes of invocation to Christ prevailed in the apostolic age; second, that these modes were restrained; and third, that such modes were used by Paul and Artemon. The first implication has been disposed of. It is for the second and the third that I lack authority; in other terms, I ask Mr. Martineau to prove that modes of invocation to Christ were used by Paul and Artemon, and that those modes were restrained.

I have thus cleared away a large amount of obstructive matter. In consequence, it appears, in agreement with the tenor of my original remarks, that the hymnal of the earliest church was Unitarian, and that corruptions came in partly from extraneous speculation and partly from unrestrained imagination. It also appears that our memorials are not so scanty as Mr. Martineau supposes (p. 323), and that the tenor of their evidence runs counter to his teachings. "The ancient Morning Hymn," too, which he places in the chain of evidence that distinctly traces the invocation of Christ to the first communities of his disciples (p. 323), cannot be carried back beyond the fourth century,—that is, several generations after the first communities had fallen asleep. What, then, remains of the "sufficiently complete" "chain of evidence?" (p. 323). "The letter of Pliny" for the alleged evidence of "the New Testament" has already been dealt with. "The letter of Pliny"! The chain at the first had but three links—"the ancient Morning Hymn, the letter of Pliny and the New Testament itself." A chain of three links may be "complete," but it cannot be long; yet a long chain was

required to establish that "the worship of Him (the Father) has always co-existed *with the invocation of Christ*" (p. 219). The three links, however, have dropt away to one. Truly may such evidence be described, in Mr. Martineau's own word, as "scanty" (p. 221); how far it is "absolutely uncontradicted," the reader may judge from what has just been advanced. It is, however, "perfectly precise" (p. 221). Not so, unless the previous remarks are unsustainable. Perhaps, however, the one remaining link may do the work of all the three. That link is Pliny's *Carmen Christo*. And here I am met by language, the tone of which had better been avoided: "This language (that of Pliny) is so distinct, that to break its force it must either be blurred by vague translation, or discredited as the product of heathen laxity in divine things. Dr. Beard does both" (p. 221). Well, it is some comfort to think that these hard words have to be borne by others as well as myself; for the translation I give, I borrow from Dr. Lardner—"to sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as *a God;*" and the comment I give, I give in Dr. Lardner's words: "*This is a heathen way of speaking;*" "heathen people, being willing to deify eminent men," "might naturally enough say they worshiped Christ as a God." I now give the passage in full, so putting together the blurred translation and the discrediting comment: "And sing together a hymn to Christ as to a God. This is a heathen way of speaking; and it has been questioned whether Pliny speaks here in his own words, or those of the Christians who were brought before him, heathen people being willing to deify eminent men. Jesus Christ was such an one, especially in the esteem of Christians. All knew he had died, and that the Christians said he was risen again from the dead and was ascended to heaven. Heathen people, therefore, might naturally enough say they worshiped Christ as a God" (Lardner's Works, VII. 40). Mr. Melmoth, too, must share in the obloquy cast on me, for he reduces "*a* God" into "*some* God." Nay, even Bunsen has a word to utter in extenuation of my blurring and discrediting conduct, for he translates, they "*praise Christ as if he were a God, not as their God.*"* And here again Dr. Lardner steps in to receive the lash intended for my back: "Pliny's Carmen Christo quasi Deo may have been a prayer to God in the name of Christ,—a prayer upon Christian principles, in which God was praised for all the blessings of the Christian revelation" (VII. 41). Having thus taken shelter under so broad and strong a shield, I feel a little at my ease, and am willing in my own proper person to break a lance (I hope in good temper) with my opponent. I, too, gave a translation. It is this, "literally to say or utter a song to;" and I added a comment, "or in honour of Christ as a God,"

* Christianity and Mankind, II. 100.

declaring that Pliny's phrase "simply signifies to celebrate the high praises or commemorate the transcendent excellences of Christ as their divine teacher and guide" (p. 81). Mr. Martineau objects—"This, however, would be a hymn *about* Christ. Pliny says, 'a hymn *to* Christ.'" As if the dative, when used as here to denote the second or remoter object, did not often signify *about* or *for*. That such may be its force, is clearly stated by one of the highest German scholars, Zumpt, whose words * I translate as exactly as I can: "The dative is the case of reference, or, when it is compared with the accusative, the case of the remoter object. Accordingly, as the accusative expresses that which is done or suffered in contrast with the doing or acting subject, so the dative expresses that with regard to which the subject acts, or in view of which the subject has this or that quality. For example, Scribo *vobis* hunc librum: I write this book to you, that is, *for* you, *with reference to you, for your use*. Again, Prosum tibi: I am useful to you, that is, for you, *in regard to you*. In consequence, the dative is set to all transitive verbs with either an expressed or not expressed accusative, answering to the question, '*To* OR *for* whom?' And not merely so, but in a more extended manner, when the reference which an act has to another object is intended to be declared as *to the advantage or shame*, or *with regard to* that object; in which case the dative in German (or English) is commonly not pointed enough, and instead you must use *for* or *on account of*. This is the so-called *dativus commodi et incommodi*, the dative expressive of advantage or disadvantage." The learned grammarian subjoins two instances, each of which I will construe, first by Mr. Martineau's *to*, and then correctly:

Pistratus sibi non patriæ Megarenses vicit.—Just.

1. Pistratus conquered the Megarensians *to* himself, not to his country.
2. Pistratus conquered the Megarensians *for his own honour, not that of his country*.

Non scholæ sed vitæ discimus.—Sen. Ep. 106.

1. We learn, not *to* the school, but *to* life.
2. We learn, *not for the good of* the school, but of life.

Indeed, there are cases in which to translate the dative simply by *to*, would even reverse the sense: e.g.

Præterita fratri condonat.—Cæs.

He pardons the past to the brother;

as if the brother had done the wrong; whereas it was to oblige the brother the offence was forgiven, and so the words should be rendered,

He pardons the past *out of regard to* the brother.

This wider application of the import of the dative, as denoting

* Lateinische Grammatik, 11th ed., p. 327.

the second or remoter object, often requires the rendering, *in honour of*, when it refers to a pagan divinity. So is it to be translated in these lines from Horace:

> Quo Sybillini monuere versus
> Virgines lectas, puerosque castos
> Diis, quibus septem placuere colles,
> Dicere Carmen.

Accordingly, this is the rendering given to Pliny's words by no less an authority than Siegel,* who, in his chapter on the *Cultus* of the first Christians, translates the passage thus: "Sie versichern ihre ganze schuld, oder vielmehr ihr Irrthum habe dahin bestanden, das sie gewöhnlich vor Tagesanbruch Zusammengekommen wären und *Christo zu ehren* einen feierlichen Wachselgesang oder ein feierliches Gebet gehalten hätten; that is, they affirmed that their whole guilt, or rather their error, lay in this, that they usually came together before break of day, and uttered a solemn antiphonal song or solemn prayer *in honour of Christ*."

Mr. Martineau demurs to my statement that the word *deo*, from Pliny's pen, may denote nothing more than a distinguished man. I should be sorry to think so ill of his scholarship as to suppose that he is not too well aware of the fact to need any words of proof from me. But he urges, "The word comes, apparently, not from Pliny's pen, but from the lips of his witnesses" (p. 221). That the word, however, does come from Pliny's pen, is clear from the fact that the letter containing it was written by Pliny. It is equally certain that the humble Christians of Bithynia, who were brought before Pliny, did not speak Latin, and in consequence could not have given him the word. Enough to lead Pliny to use the word *deus* of Christ, if he heard from the accused that Christ was the founder and head of their religion, whose name was ever on their lips. The fact that what he wanted the disciples to do, namely, to throw a few grains of incense on the altar to the honour of the *god* Trajan, would naturally make him think and speak of Christ, Trajan's rival, as a god too. Indeed, in his mind, the contest was as between these conflicting divinities. For himself, the only true divinity was the Emperor, and he marks the distinction by speaking disparagingly of Christ as a mere *quasi deo*, a quasi-divinity. For I would have Mr. Martineau remark that the qualifying adverb is not *tanquam* nor *ut*, which might be rendered "as," and so denote *as being a god*, but *quasi*, which literally and properly translated is, *as if* a god. This statement does not raise the question whether it is Pliny's mind or the mind of the disciples which is embodied in the account, but proceeds on the fact that the account is written in Latin, and so is to be taken in the sense

* Handbuch der Christlich-Kirchlichen Alterthumer, Vol. I. p. 468.

which the Latin words of a proconsul would bear at the time they were penned. To put into a letter, having such an origin, Hebrew or Christian ideas, is unwarranted, and contrary to every legitimate rule of interpretation. The narrative is Pliny's, and it is Pliny's thought we are to try to extract therefrom. Having obtained Pliny's thought, we are at liberty to seek for the Christian thought which underlies it. But this is not so easily done as to justify any one in reprobating an attempt as a blurring and a discrediting. Beyond a question, the general tenor of the narrative is pagan in substance; or did the disciples describe their religion as a "low and extravagant superstition" (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*), as an "infatuation" (*dementia*), as a misdeed (*culpa*) or mistake (*error*), or did they represent themselves as bound by "an oath" (*sacramentum*) to abstain from "theft, robbery or adultery"? Truly a fine description of Christian morality, and that to come from Christian "lips"! Yet this very oath is mentioned in immediate sequence to the words which speak of the hymn in honour of Christ. Mr. Martineau's "apparently" (p. 221) is all the other way, and the presumption is that we have in this heathen letter a very imperfect and confused account of the worship of the Christians of Asia Minor. Much more would it have been to the point had Mr. Martineau adduced from Christian writers of the age a passage or two stating that it was their and their fellow-believers' "distinctive habit" to invoke Christ; but this he is unable to do, simply from a total absence of any such materials. Not that passages descriptive of the *cultus* or worship of the church in the early part of the second century are difficult to find, but they report no invocation as offered to Christ, and describe the object of worship to be God, his Father. This is so well known as not to need confirmation; but I will add, Mosheim, after drawing a picture of the public worship of the church in the days of Pliny, in which neither apostrophe nor invocation nor prayer to Christ occurs, terminates the narrative with these words: O sanctam primæ ætatis Christianæ simplicitatem;* O the sacred simplicity of the first Christian age! Would that that simplicity had never been parted with! Would that it were restored now! The same eminent authority quotes, as a comment on the text of Pliny's letter, these words of the learned Gesner: Huic ut addatur necesse est, idque mox manifestum fiet, Plinium *non tam Christianorum quos exploraverat, quam suis verbis uti*, atque sacra Christiana quodammodo ad Romanorum sententiam accomodare ac quasi interpretari, quod quidem consulto factum ab illo putem, quo Trajanus, formulis Christianorum haud adsuetus, et totius causæ Christianæ ignarus, rem comprehendere facilius et certius posset. Christianorum sententias et instituta si Chris-

* De Rebus Christianorum, p. 145.

tianis etiam verbis perscripsisset, vim omnium non assequtus fuisset imperator, et secus forte, quam volebat, quædam accepisset. The English of which is: "To this it is necessary to add, as will become manifest shortly, that *Pliny employs, not so much the words of the Christians whom he had examined, as his own,* and that he accommodates the sacred rites of the Christians to the Roman point of view, and, as it were, translates them; which, indeed, I think he did advisedly, in order that Trajan, not accustomed to the Christian forms of speech, and generally ignorant of Christianity, might the more easily and certainly understand the facts of the case. Had Pliny transcribed in Christian phraseology the doctrines and observances of the Christians, the Emperor would not have understood the general sense, and would perhaps have taken some things differently from what he wished." The proper way, then, to ascertain the real meaning of this heathen account of Christian worship, is to ask an interpretation of it from Christian authorities of the same age. And what do they declare? That the worship of the Church was addressed to the Father *in the name of the Son.* In that peculiarly Christian phrase have we, I believe, the original which underlies Pliny's narrative.

And so the sole remaining pillar is in the dust. Where, then, is "the distinctive habit" of the early church? The "always" which connected the invocation of Christ with the worship of the Father, is nowhere in either the apostolic or post-apostolic age, at least so far as depends on the arguments which Mr. Martineau has adduced.

I have thus passed under review the chief considerations with which Mr. Martineau met my impeachment. I have fought, not for victory, but for truth. If truth has been elucidated by what has been said on both sides, I am content.

Not without premeditation did I throw down the gauntlet. I thought I saw a practical danger, and I was compelled to utter a word of warning. To make that warning the more effectual, and to give a practical alternative, I published my collection of Hymns. For taking these steps, I have suffered blame. More serious to me would the penalty have been, had I withstood that which I felt to be a call of duty. Let me here explicitly state what it is I regret and fear, and desire to see in some way removed. Certain hymns have been introduced into our Unitarian churches which seem to me to jeopardize the purity and simplicity of their worship. On what grounds? Not because they contain addresses to Christ, but because they contain such addresses as, if not actual prayer, pave the way for actual prayer, and so tend to undermine the strict and proper Christian monotheism which is the characteristic of our body, and which alone justifies and can perpetuate its existence. This is my fear. On that fear I have acted. The fear may have had no solid basis. Then I have done a work of

supererogation; and far rather would I have been so misled than feel occasion for self-reproach in having kept silence when I thought there was a reason for speaking out. But I still think there was and is a reason for the warning I have put forth. That reason will cease to exist, if certain hymns are either cancelled or allowed to fall into disuse.

During the discussion, some discourtesies have been used towards me. This mistake concerns others more than myself. I have tried to avoid reprisals, but I have been mainly anxious to vindicate in my own case the unqualified right and duty of free speech which belongs to every thoughtful Christian, and to none more than to members of the Unitarian church. In laying down my pen, I offer my hand to those whose conduct I have in a particular instance called in question, for whom in general I entertain a very high respect, and between whom and myself there will, I trust, continue a sentiment not the less friendly for the encounter in which we have been engaged. Finally, it is not my intention to resume the subject, unless I find occasion to acknowledge some main position I have taken up to be seriously damaged by anything that may be further advanced.

Manchester, July 3, 1861. JOHN R. BEARD.

CHANNING.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING.

THERE is a radiance beautiful and tender,
The sunshine of the soul,—a genial light,
To which we yield ourselves in sweet surrender,
Nor ask what makes the universe so bright.
So day by day the sun awakes in might,
So night by night reposes. Night and day,
Caused by his present or his absent ray,
Pass on unnoticed in their changing flight.
Thus on the soul doth friendship smile benign;
Its calm delights, its soothing influence spread,
As shine the sun-rays on the mountain's head,
When not an eye observes how bright they shine;
Nor need of notice nor of praise have they
That march and ever march on their majestic way.

ECCLESIASTICAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST DR. DODDRIDGE.

Sir,

It is not perhaps generally known that, soon after Dr. Doddridge's settlement at Northampton as minister of a Dissenting congregation and tutor of an Academy for the education of ministers, an attempt was made on the part of the Established Church to put a stop to his proceedings by persecution. This appears from the following "Citation to appear before the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Peterborough, and answer to certain articles to be objected to him concerning his soul's health." The document is the property of the Rev. John Fuller Russell, F.S.A., of Greenhithe, and may now be seen in the temporary Museum of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, who this year hold their annual meeting at Peterborough. I do not know how the affair terminated. But I observe, that two years after he was thus cited, viz., on the 5th of November, 1735, Dr. Doddridge preached at Northampton, and published a sermon "On the Absurdity and Iniquity of Persecution for Conscience' Sake in all its Kinds and Degrees." About the same time, a similar attempt was made to close one of the schools for poor children established in North Wales by the Trustees of Dr. Williams; the master of this school was enabled to pursue his task without further molestation in consequence of the application of Dr. S. Chandler, one of the Trustees, to the Bishop of Bangor for relief. Nevertheless, these annoyances were always liable to recur until the passing of the celebrated Act to relieve Dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters, which was obtained after a long struggle, and was pertinaciously opposed by the Bench of Bishops and the High-church party.

The document, which I have copied, is as follows. It is proper to observe that Doddridge, though ordained to the ministry among the Nonconformists, had not yet received his degree of Doctor of Divinity.

"To Philip Dotteridge of the parish of All Saints in the town of Northampton in the county of Northampton, Gent.

"By virtue of a citation under seal herewith shewn unto you I cite you to appear personally before the Reverend George Reynolds Doctor of Laws Vicar General Commissary General and Official Principal in spiritual matters of the Right Reverend Father in God Robert by Divine permission Lord Bishop of Peterborough and also Official of the Reverend the Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Northampton or his lawful surrogate or some other competent judge in this behalf in the Consistory Court adjoining to the Parish Church of All Saints in the said town of Northampton on Tuesday the Sixth day of November 1733 at the usual time of hearing causes there then and there to answer to certain articles or interrogatories to be objected and administered to you concerning your soul's health and the reformation and correction of your manners

and excess, and especially your teaching and instructing youth in the liberal arts and sciences not being licenced thereto by the ordinary of the Diocese touching either your learning and dexterity in teaching or your right understanding of God's true religion or your honest and sober conversation at the promotion and pursuant to a certain detection or presentment exhibited against you by Thomas Rand and Benjamin Chapman Churchwardens of the s^d^ parish of All Saints in the s^d^ town of Northampton and further to do and receive according to law and justice.

"Will Spencer."

Not doubting that this document, which I have faithfully copied, will be interesting to your readers, I am, Sir, yours,

James Yates.

Highgate, near London, July 29, 1861.

ILLUSTRATIVE REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

It is very remarkable that the several Lives of Dr. Doddridge contain but the slightest allusion to the prosecution of which documentary evidence now for the first time appears in print. As many of our readers will be, like our able correspondent, Mr. Yates, unacquainted with the history of this affair, we append some account of it, chiefly taken from Doddridge's own letters.

When the scheme of Doddridge's undertaking the Academy was first mooted, the advice of Dr. Watts was sought, who put this query—"Are the hands of enemies so effectually chained up from offering us any violence, that they cannot indict or prosecute you under the pretence that your Academy is a school?" To this Doddridge replied—"I know not how it may be in other places, but about us I cannot discern so much fury in the clergy; nor do I imagine they could make anything of a prosecution. It was once attempted, to the *shame* of the *undertakers*, with regard to Mr. Matthews, of Mount Sorrel."

Doddridge, writing, Nov. 25, 1733, to his friend, Rev. John Barker, of Hackney, thus describes the circumstances of his prosecution in the Spiritual Court:

"The chancellor of our diocess promoted it, as he acknowledged, not out of any ill will to me as a dissenter, but purely to establish and vindicate the authority of the court where he presides. Nothing has yet been done in a public way, more than admonishing me to appear to receive articles, which are to be exhibited against me next court day, i.e. about a fortnight hence. He has, however, done me the honour to send for me in private, and treated me with abundance of complaisance. He complains of it as a failure in due respect to himself, as chancellor, that I have taught the gentlemen under my care without applying to him for a license; and now, not to tire you with a long detail of particulars, he desires me, within a few days, to give him a positive answer to this one question,—whether I will take up a license, if it be offered me on terms consistent with my religious principles as a dissen-

ter; that is, by re-subscribing to the articles I have already subscribed as a teacher, taking the oath to the government, and submitting my character, and abilities to teach, to his examination. To qualify the last part of the proposal, he was pleased to say, that he was so well satisfied with both, as to engage not to give me the least trouble by disputing either. This might seem a very easy way of ending the affair; though he adds, at the same time, that he is not sure that he can offer me a license on these terms, because the Act of Toleration does not expressly repeal a clause in the Act of Uniformity, which requires much harder things. The wisest persons I have yet consulted, both in town and country, look upon this proceeding as a very artful scheme, to bring us under ecclesiastical inspection more than we have ever yet been; and they think as I do, that it is trusting our Academies and schools to the impartiality of a party which has not always shown the nicest honour, not to touch upon its integrity.

"I perceive that a general alarm is taken; and I have had letters from the most distant parts of England, to entreat that I would make no submission, nor accept of a license on any terms, until the matter has been brought before a civil court, and it has been there declared necessary that I should do it. I confess, Sir, that this advice is very agreeable, both to my own inclination and judgment, for we know the worst that can occur. The government has hitherto protected us; and we cannot imagine that we have yet received the last favours it would grant, and that we shall now be given up to our enemies, on a point where our common rights, as British subjects, are so evidently concerned. People of the best sense, among very different parties, are amazed at the conduct of Doctor Reynolds at such a juncture; and several gentlemen of the Established Church, of considerable rank, and in public estimation, have warmly acknowledged their disapprobation of the whole proceeding, and have advised me to stand it out to the utmost: nay, the very person in whose name the measure is to be carried on, came to assure me of his abhorrence of the step, and to know, before it commenced, whether he could, with safety to himself, (being now a churchwarden,) refuse to sign the presentment, or in any other circumstance make the matter easier to me.

"On the whole, Sir, I could not be so unjust to myself, and to that generous and condescending friendship with which you are pleased to honour me, as to come to any determination in this matter until I had consulted you. I beg you will please to communicate the contents of this letter, with my most humble services, to Doctors Harris, Wright, and Watts, and to any other gentleman, whether of the ministry or laity, to whom you may think it proper; so that, in an affair in which all are concerned, we may, as far as possible, act on united counsels.

"The question with me is not, for a moment, what will be my easiest way out of this trouble, but by what line of conduct I may most effectually serve that cause of liberty and truth, to which I hope I shall always be ready to sacrifice my personal ease and advantage."

The leaders of the Dissenters in London immediately took up the case with warm interest. The opinion of counsel was taken, and Dr. Doddridge was cheered by assurances of sympathy and support. Sir Robert Walpole was consulted, and expressed his

disapprobation of the proceedings of the Chancellor and the Bishop. The High-church spirit was next manifested in a riotous attack, in the month of December, 1733, on the Doctor's house at Northampton. This elicited letters and expressions of sympathy from the Earl of Halifax and other public men.

The progress of the prosecution is well detailed by Doddridge in a letter to Mr. Chandler:

"The prosecution in itself is not very remarkable, for I have been told that near twenty such attempts have been made within less than so many years, upon dissenting schoolmasters in this diocess, which have given the instigators no other satisfaction than what they have found in giving such testimony of their *candour* and *moderation*, and putting some poor families, for such have been chiefly concerned, to the expense of a prohibition, in which they have always ended. It is therefore, I think, no wonder that an Academy in the town where this dread tribunal sits should be looked upon as an offence not to be quietly endured.

"What is most worthy of particular notice in the present case is a proposal which the chancellor has been pleased to make to me in private, and which he desired me to communicate to my friends in town, and to which he expects an answer within a few days. It is this,—if the bishop or others, with whom he may think proper to consult, judge that he may safely do it, he will grant me a license, on re-subscribing the articles which I have already subscribed, as a qualification for preaching; and taking the usual oaths to the government, being satisfied of my character and abilities to teach, by what he has already heard and known of me; yet still asserting his right to examine my learning and dexterity in the art of instructing, if he thought it necessary, and waving it only as a matter of personal complaisance.

"These proposals Dr. Reynolds looks upon as a favour; but all my brethren whom I have yet consulted apprehend it to be a snare. They think some of the most essential and important of our liberties would stand on a very precarious foundation, if it lay in the breast of the chancellor of a diocess to break up any of our schools, or even our Academies, on the pretence of not being satisfied with the qualifications of the teacher. If these terms be refused, we must expect that we shall be represented, either as heretical, disloyal, ignorant, or obstinate; and the doctor has assured me again and again, that to suppose a judge will not be governed by precedent is contrary both to law and to reason. To me it is not altogether so evident; and if you, good Sir, contrary to all the friends I have already consulted, should advise me to submit, I must beg the favour of you to give me your reasons at large. I should rather choose to refer the matter to the decision of a civil court; though, if it be there determined in our favour, I am persuaded that the chancellor will give me the vexation which some dissenters in these parts, as he tells me, have formerly found, of a renewal of the presentment every court day for some years together. I know this is what some of the tory clergymen hope; and they have already insulted some of my people by speaking as if my Academy were already demolished at a blow. But I conclude that is only owing to the dishonourable and foolish opinion

they have imbibed of the equity and the wisdom of the present government. The wiser and higher rank, both among the clergy and the laity, are surprised at so unreasonable and so unaccountable a step, and advise me to stand it out to the last, if the chancellor does not drop the prosecution, as they think he will, notwithstanding the solemn parade with which he has begun the attack.

"Thus, Sir, you see the affair in its true light; your general concern for the cause of liberty, as well as the personal friendship with which you are pleased to honour me, encourages me to hope that you will give it a due consideration, and will, as soon as you conveniently can, send me your sentiments upon it, as well as the judgment of any of our friends, with whom you may think proper to consult about it; which, I hope, will always meet with due regard from, Reverend Sir, your most respectful humble Servant,

"PHILIP DODDRIDGE."

The prosecution reached its closing proceeding at Westminster Hall on the last day of January, 1734, and the Doctor thus announced the result in a letter to his wife:

"I am just come from Westminster Hall, where our cause was gained without any opposition worth naming. The Judges ordered a prohibition to be issued, which secures me from all further trouble. For form sake their counsel moved that our suggestion might be turned into a declaration, to which they may, if they please, put in an answer, and so bring the cause to a further trial. This I fear they will not do. If they should, we shall certainly recover costs, but you know the churchwarden's mind; and the chancellor was so good as to declare, before Mr. Jennings, Mr. Marryat, and several of my friends, that he would rather have given a great deal of money than ever have meddled with the cause; so that I think that all is now at an end, but if they go on to give us trouble in other cases, we must try our strength in parliament. The Attorney-General offered his service, being solicited by Lord Halifax, according to my desire, to undertake the affair. Things could not indeed have been carried in an easier manner."

It is well to preserve the recollection and details of these clerical attacks on the rights of Nonconformists. Bigotry, in every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic, has loved to interfere with free religious education. What the clerical bigots in this country would have done, if their power had been equal to their wishes, was seen in the notorious Schism Act, which was to have come into effect the very day that Queen Anne died, but which became at once a dead letter, and was eventually repealed in the happier reign of George I. The purpose of the Schism Act was to put down all Nonconformist schools, and to allow no catechism to be used but that of the Church of England. Dr. Doddridge celebrated the triumphs of religious liberty in England in a hymn founded on Numbers xxiii. 23, and which is described as adapted to the first of August as well as the fifth of November. The closing verses of the hymn are thus given in the Protestant Dissenters' Magazine, Vol. I. p. 32:

"What hath God wrought? the world may cry,
Freed from the plagues of Popery;
Its ten-fold night, its heavy chains,
Its galling yoke, and penal pains.

What hath God wrought? in sweet surprise,
Shall sound thro' all the earth and skies,
When, like a mill-stone in the main,
Rome shall be sunk, nor rise again.

The news shall every harp employ;
Wake every tongue to tuneful joy:
Our souls would join the glorious throng,
Partake the triumph and the song."

About the same time that the proceedings at Northampton took place, an attempt was made by the High-church party of Lancashire to close by a prosecution the Academy of Dr. Charles Owen, the eminent Presbyterian minister of Warrington; but the Government interfered, and the prosecution was dropped. If any of our correspondents can furnish us with documentary or other illustrations of this latter affair, we shall be happy to receive them.

COPY OF AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF DR. WATTS, FOUND AMONG PAPERS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE, WAREHAM.

Sir,

I transmit you an original letter of Dr. Watts, addressed to a member of the Old Meeting-house, Wareham (Dorset), and now in possession of John Brown, Esq., of that town, who has kindly permitted me to copy it from the autograph of Dr. Watts. It seems to mark, even in those days, the elements of that difference of religious opinion which led to a separation of the Calvinistic portion of the congregation during the ministry of the Rev. Robert Kell at the close of the last century.

Edmund Kell.

Sir,

Your account of the affairs at Wareham doth so exactly tally with what Mr. Scott [see note 1] informed us from his own observation, that we presume 'tis the very truth of the case. There are some persons there who are still in some hopes of Dr. Cotton [note 2], and till that matter be entirely finished, we have no encouragement to seek any minister for you; and indeed we can never expect any success, for they will always be finding some fault or other in the person that shall be sent. This has given Mr. Scott such a troublesome apprehension of things, that, together with the great distance from all his friends, has made him to relinquish all thoughts of Wareham, while at the same time he is sensible of the kindness of the people in generall, and yours

in particular. You desire our present advice: we freely tell you our thoughts, that the seeking to reconcile the people to Mr. Scott will attain no end now. Your business is to get a hearty unanimity among yourselves in seeking a minister, and to prevail with Dr. Cotton some way or other to persuade those friends of yours who correspond with him to take off their expectations from him, since he has refused to accept your invitation, and to do all he can to encourage them to join heartily with their brethren in seeking some other minister. And when this is done, we shall then be ready to lend you our further assistance to find out a person qualify'd. With hearty desires of your settlement in all the ordinances of the Gospell, to your edification and encrease, we subscribe ourselves,

Your servants for Christ's sake,

I. Watts,

Sam. Price [note 3].

London, Sept. 30, 1732.

I have just now been to see Mr. Bragge [note 4], who has been very ill these ten days past; he is now a little better, and he promises me to write to Dr. Cotton to persuade him to make these people easy, &c. I. W.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

Note 1.—Rev. Thomas Scott was minister of a Congregational church at Norwich, and author of a volume of Sermons on the Deity of Christ. He was brother to Daniel Scott, LL.D., also a theological writer. Thos. Scott was a friend and correspondent of Dr. Doddridge, and some of his letters are printed in the Correspondence of Doddridge (published by his great grandson), Vol. III. p. 420, &c.

2.—Dr. Cotton. Was this Dr. Nathaniel Cotton, afterwards known as the author of "Visions in Verse" and as a physician at St. Alban's, who especially devoted his skill to the cure of the insane? It was the same benevolent man with whom Cowper resided eighteen months after the outbreak of his mental malady. Cowper took great delight in Dr. Cotton's religious conversation. "He thought him a true philosopher, every tittle of his knowledge on natural subjects being connected in his mind with the firm belief of an omnipotent Agent" (Southey's Life of Cowper, I. 149). In a letter to Lady Hesketh (July 4, 1765), Cowper writes, "I reckon it one instance of the Providence which has attended me throughout this whole event, that instead of being delivered into the hands of one of the London physicians—who were so much nearer that I wonder I was not—I was carried to Dr. Cotton. I was not only treated by him with the greatest tenderness while I was ill, and attended with the utmost diligence, but when my reason was restored to me, and I had so much need of a religious friend to converse with to whom I could open my mind without reserve, I could hardly have found a fitter person for the purpose. In the poem entitled "Hope," Cowper thus apostrophized his benefactor:

"—— Cotton, whose humanity sheds rays
That make superior skill his second praise."

Dr. N. Cotton was a correspondent of Dr. Doddridge. A very beautiful letter of his in relation to the death of his wife appeared in the volume of Letters published by Rev. Thos. Stedman (p. 458).

3.—Rev. Samuel Price was, in 1713, ordained co-pastor with Dr. Watts, having been previously his assistant at Bury Street. Their union in the two relations continued 45 years. A warm friendship existed between them, of which a token appeared in the will of Dr. Watts, where, in bequeathing his co-pastor a legacy, he records "his services of love during many harmonious years of their fellowship in the work of the gospel." Mr. Price was uncle to the more distinguished Dr. Richard Price (Milner's Life of Watts, pp. 306, 307).

4.—Robert Bragge, an Independent minister of London, survived till Feb. 12, 1738. He had taken part, in 1713, in the ordination of Mr. Price, Watts's co-pastor. The remains of Mr. Bragge were interred in Bunhill Fields, in the vault which contains the ashes of John Bunyan. He was in some way connected with the descendants of John Strudwick, at whose house the author of the Pilgrim died (Wilson's Dissenting Churches, I. 244).

SOME ACCOUNT OF DR. SAMUEL G. HOWE, THE AMERICAN PHILANTHROPIST, BY THE LATE HORACE MANN.*

(Reprinted from the Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association.)

The first Institution for the Blind ever established on this continent, or, indeed, in this Western hemisphere, was the New-England Asylum in Boston, Mass., in 1829. This now, for twenty-seven years, has been under the care of that distinguished man, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, even then known as the Philhellene, or Lover of Greece, but now by the broader title of Philanthropist, or Lover of Mankind. Under the superintendence of Dr. Howe, this institution has made more improvements in the methods and instruments of teaching the blind than all the other schools in the world added together, and its efforts have been attended with a proportionate success.

Dr. Howe has also introduced into this country, of late years, the still more difficult instruction of idiots. The success of this last and most astounding work of benevolence, proves incontestably that in every human being exist the germs of faculties, and that the divine spirit of Christian love will find the means of discovering and fertilizing them, even when they have been so

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* Dr. Howe is a Unitarian. We cordially accept and echo the sentiment of the editor of the Journal with respect to him: "In our Unitarian gallery of distinguished men, Dr. Howe holds an eminent place. Long may he hold it, and long continue in his noble work!" The sketch now reprinted of Dr. Howe's philanthropic labours was originally pronounced by Mr. Mann in a sermon preached at Antioch to the students of the College there.

covered up by the sin of disobedience to God's laws, that the very semblance of humanity is lost. Here, indeed, is the literal fulfilment of scripture. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the third and the fourth generation. But the blessed law of recuperative force is visible even here.

As Dr. Howe now does and always will occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of benevolence, it will not be inappropriate to give a brief sketch of his life.

There is a large number of men who, on account of his differences from them in religious views, thrust him out of the pale of Christianity. Passing by his belief, let us see if, in his life, he has not imitated the Saviour as much as they. I have known him long; perhaps few have known him as intimately. We were in college together, and for twenty years I was officially associated with him in the administration of that institution with which his name is now imperishably connected. For a great deal of that time, there was scarcely a day in which a personal interview did not give me some new proof of his wisdom and goodness.

At the time when the Greek war of independence broke out, Dr. Howe was a student of medicine in Boston. Even then his youthful heart was an altar already loaded with incense. The sight of a brave people struggling for liberty kindled that incense into a flame,—a flame which has burned uninterruptedly, for Greece, for Poland, for Hungary, for Italy, and for those in this country who are under direr oppression than Greek or Pole or Hungarian or Italian. He flew to Greece, and for six years,—a part of the time as a surgeon in the army or on board the fleet, a part of the time as a volunteer, like Lafayette and Kosciusko in our Revolutionary war,—he devoted himself to the liberation of that people. He adhered to their cause until he left them free. Then he taught them something of the arts of peace. The first cart made in Greece was made under his superintendence. The old ancestors of that people had made chariots for battle, but not carts for agriculture; and their descendants inherit a sufficient degree of the old organization, to shape a graceful boat with a jack-knife; while so little were the useful arts cultivated, that they needed instruction in fabricating the most common utensils of life. The Egyptians had overrun the Peloponnesus, ravaging and destroying all fruit and harvest, and the people were reduced almost to starvation. At that critical moment, Dr. Howe returned to this country, preached a crusade through all New England and New York, raised some sixty thousand dollars in money and an immense quantity of clothing, with which he relieved the mortal necessities of the Greeks, and sustained them until the final hour of triumph. Twenty years after, when he rode alone into Greece on horseback one day, an accidental travelling companion was astonished to see him recognized by a peasant woman, who spread the glad intelligence, and he was

immediately surrounded, and borne into the neighbouring city, *nolens volens*, on the shoulders of the people. Such joy was manifested at the sight of him who had founded a village on that spot in the days of stormy trial, that his accidental companion was moved to tears at the spectacle of the enthusiasm, even before he knew the details of the history. At that point of time, the Greeks were just again triumphant over oppression; and his friends ruled the ascendant, and were glad to do him honour. They also sent a Greek newspaper to his friend, Charles Sumner, in which the incident was related, or probably we should never have had the pleasure of learning it; for Dr. Howe is never the hero of his own story.

To return to his early history. At the time of his return from his Grecian expedition to Boston, Dr. John D. Fisher, who had just completed his medical studies in Paris, came home to Boston, also, with his great heart filled, brimming, with the project of establishing an institution for the blind, like that of the Abbé Haüy, with which he had become familiar in Paris.

In a city so renowned for its charities as Boston, the bricks and mortar for such an establishment could easily be obtained; but where could one find the great, organizing, executive mind to be put at its head and to be its sensorium?

The most sagacious turned to Dr. Howe as the man above all men for the place, and he was appointed. He accepted, and immediately embarked for Europe to visit the institutions at Paris and elsewhere.

It was while in Paris on this mission that his chivalrous spirit prompted him to accept a trust which well-nigh proved fatal, not only to the enterprize in which he was embarked, but to his life. This visit to Paris was during the Polish insurrection of 1830-31. A thrill of enthusiasm in behalf of the Poles, as a few years before in behalf of the Greeks, ran through this country, and large contributions of money and clothing were made in their behalf. These donations were forwarded to Gen. Lafayette in Paris, to be remitted by him to their suffering objects. Gen. Lafayette despatched two agents (a French and a German officer) with the succours. One of them was taken prisoner by the enemy, the other was balked in his purpose and returned. Who now had the bravery and the skill to carry the needed relief to the perishing army?

It should be stated here that a large, perhaps the largest, body of the Polish insurgents had just been driven across their frontiers into Prussia. Prussia stipulated that, if they would surrender their arms and dismiss their officers, she would afford them a refuge; but having, for some reasons of state, changed her policy and become more friendly to Russia, she surrounded the Poles with a cordon of soldiers, and attempted, by starvation on her side of the line, to drive them into the jaws of the Russian

bear on the other side. It was at this perilous juncture, when they were guarded by Prussian soldiers on one side and watched by Russian victors on the other, and perishing from want within themselves, that Dr. Howe undertook to carry the needed assistance to this hunted band of patriots. He was then on the point of starting for Berlin to visit the Blind Institution established there by the Abbé Haüy a quarter of a century before, and he accepted this perilous commission as an episode. As soon as wheels could carry him, he stood within the Polish cantonments,—ground consecrated by the presence of patriots, desecrated by the rule of tyrants. The Poles had been quartered among the peasants, and they were scattered over a space a dozen miles in extent. By the terms of capitulation, their officers had been removed. One officer, however, having determined to abide the fortunes of his companions, remained, and, the more securely to cover his concealment, feigned illness; and from his sick quarters, unknown except by a few trusted ones, all necessary orders were issued. Over this extended space, and among this large number, Dr. Howe began, personally, the distribution of his alms, by travelling from hut to hut, scattering gladness wherever he went. Soon he came to a peasant's rude hut, where he was told there lay, in an upper loft, a dying Pole. He ascended to the apartment, which bore all the evidences of a sick man's chamber,—the attendants, the silence, the medical paraphernalia; and, by the dim light from a darkened window, the form of a man was seen prostrate upon a pallet of straw. Dr. Howe explained his errand; assured him that he came as a friend to help, and not as an enemy to betray. Convinced of this, the feigning sick man sprang upon his feet, and stood before him a tall, gigantic grenadier, ready, as chance might offer, for friendship or for battle,—ready for anything but to live a slave. It was their commander.

The supplies came at a moment when the Polish army was at the point of despair. They were promptly delivered and joyfully received; and Dr. Howe, having fed the hungry and clothed the naked, started immediately for Berlin to learn how to give eyes to the blind.

Immediately after arriving at Berlin, he accidentally met an American citizen, with whom he exchanged cards, giving, most fortunately, the name of the hotel where he lodged. The next morning, that citizen called at the hotel and inquired for Dr. Howe, but was told that no such person was or had been there. Appearances, however, excited suspicion; and by adroit and persevering inquiries, this gentleman found that a body of the police had visited the house during the night; but Dr. Howe, for six weeks, was nowhere to be found by any friendly inquirer, nowhere to be seen by any friendly eye. The facts were, that no sooner had Dr. Howe distributed his succours among the

Poles, than they were changed as from dead men to live ones. A new soul had been created within them, and all indications pointed to him as to the creator. Now let us see what has been the fortune of the moral hero.

In Prussia, every traveller must go from place to place by public conveyance. All public stages are there truly public ones, for they are owned and driven by the government. However urgent one's business may be, whatever emergency may arise, no private man, with private horses or private carriage, is allowed to help one on one's way. The government, for police purposes, transacts all this business. They register the name of every passenger; note where they take him up and where they set him down; so that they can tell the outgoing and incoming of every traveller who passes through the kingdom, or moves from place to place in it. Hence the bloodhounds easily tracked Dr. Howe from the camp of the Poles to his hotel in Berlin, and at midnight, on the first night of his arrival in the city, they knocked at his chamber-door. On opening it, he saw three men. They were clad in citizen's dress, and at first only asked him the news from the camp, and requested his attendance before some civil commissioners. On his declining to go, he was told he must go; and on his demanding by what authority, the captain of the band unbuttoned and laid open his citizen's coat, and shewed the uniform and the badge that had all the thunders of the government at its back. He parleyed; and finally, by promising to attend them in the morning, he gained a respite for a few hours during the residue of the night. Availing himself of this critical period, he selected what valueless and insignificant papers he had, which he tore into shreds, shuffled and threw into a basin of water; but all his valuable ones, and such as might connect him with the transaction, he hid in the hollow of a bust of the King of Prussia, which is almost universally found in all public rooms and places of resort throughout the realm.

With early dawn re-appeared the police, who had watched all night at his door, to conduct him, as they had intimated, to some tribunal or company anxious to hear the news.

Whoever has been in Berlin will remember a vast stone building in one of the most conspicuous streets, nearly in the heart of the city, obtruding its silent horrors upon the sight, and striking with fiercer horrors all the recollections and associations of men. It is the Government Prison, the Bastile of Prussia. There, in a stone room eight feet by six, without fresh air, without light, Dr. Howe was thrust, and there began a night of darkness, equally impervious to the light of day and the light of hope, and which lasted six weeks. Of all men and their confederates in the under-world, none but the princes of police and the prince of darkness knew where he was. No communication by letter or speech was allowed,—none save that unseen communication

with the great Father of us all, which all good men have, and of which no earthly or infernal foe can rob them.

At the end of two days, he was taken before a kind of commission (somewhat, perhaps, like a certain kind of commission in this country; only in that mere despotism, I believe, the base hirelings did not have double the fee for convicting which they did for acquitting, as is the case in this land of boasted freedom.) That tribunal conducted his examination on some atomic or infinitesimal theory; for they read to him not less than three hundred written questions, beginning with the names of his father and mother, and evincing the most extraordinary interest in every event that had happened from the day of his birth, and taking down all his answers in writing. At the end of two days more, he was taken before the same officers again; and the three hundred and more questions were all put to him again, and again were all his answers taken down in writing. At the close of the second examination, he was remanded to his dungeon, too small to welcome friend or comforter, but large enough to hold all the spectres of horror or despair that can ever visit a good man's heart. There, in utter solitude, within stone walls, hard as though each granule in their structure were a tyrant's heart, as though they had been constructed of tyrant's hearts as coral insects build coral reefs, he remained six weeks, having no expectation of any other home or tomb but that; unless, indeed, he might be surrendered to Russia and doomed to Siberian mines.

One circumstance which transpired marks the untiring industry of the Prussian police. At his first examination, he saw that the whole mass of papers which he had torn up and thrown into the water had been taken out, dried and re-adjusted part to part, as one re-adjusts the dislocated pieces of a Chinese puzzle; but they did not discover the important papers in the old king's head, not being Yankees.

At his arrival in Berlin from the Polish camp, as I before mentioned, he met an American gentleman, who made a call of civility upon him at his hotel the next morning. The denial that any such person had been there, and the fact that the police had visited the house during the night, aroused suspicions of foul play. This gentleman, therefore, immediately wrote to Mr. Rives, then American minister at Paris, communicating his apprehensions. Mr. Rives made inquiry of the Prussian Government concerning the matter, and was officially informed that no American had been there,—only a Frenchman, a confederate of the Poles, who pretended to be an American. But he persisted; and, finally, after six weeks of negociation, and to avoid a threatened collision with the United States, the Prussian Government withdrew its retractile fangs from the flesh of its victim. At night, his prison-door was opened. He was put into a carriage, and supposed he was doomed to Siberia; but the rising sun re-

assured him, for he rode in an opposite direction. He was driven six hundred miles without stopping, and tossed across the Prussian frontier, with an admonition never to set foot within it again. His trunk and effects were there all restored to him, except forty-two dollars retained for prison charges, after the manner of South Carolina when she imprisons Northern coloured seamen.

When I went to Europe with Dr. Howe, in 1843, his name was found still standing on the proscribed list in all Prussian frontiers, and he was still forbidden to enter the kingdom.

The King of Prussia has since relented; for he sent Dr. Howe a gold medal for his wonderful achievement in educating Laura Bridgman,—the medal being of a class bestowed only upon those who have performed the most distinguished philanthropic services. It is a curious fact that this medal was of precisely the value of the prison fees above mentioned!

I presume you have all heard something of Laura Bridgman. She was a child,—blind, deaf, dumb, and almost utterly destitute of the senses of taste and smell. Here was this glorious world,—nature, beauty, love, humanity, without: there, within, brooded and slept and moaned an immortal soul. What North-west passage, or any other passage, shall be opened to that hidden, spiritual continent, more valuable than any new-discovered continent upon the earth, or any new-discovered star in the heavens? Who shall enter and gather the fruits of this new garden of the Hesperides? What angel shall convey a spark to kindle the incense already laid upon that lovely, but lonely, sequestered altar?

There was but one man who knew how to open that sarcophagus, and bring to life the immortal spirit within it; and that man was Dr. Howe.

With what deep emotions do we look back to the moments when great events were preparing for their birth!—to Christopher Columbus, wooing from nature the secret of another continent; to Sir Isaac Newton, recognizing the invisible bond of attraction that holds the universe in its beautiful order; or to Dr. Howe, with Laura Bridgman upon his knee, opening an avenue to her soul, and bringing out the captive into the light of day, and the more precious light of knowledge,—into the truths that pertain to time and to eternity. Then she was a blank,—voiceless, thoughtless, seemingly inaccessible. Now she is learned, sensible, beautiful, and far more intelligent than the average of young ladies who have had more than her advantages, without suffering any of her privations.

Now, I suppose Dr. Howe has given an equivalent for the sense of sight to more persons, ten to one, than all the apostles put together. How nobly has he imitated the miracles!

Although, as Tacitus said of Seneca, "he would make a fit tutor for a prince," yet, for more than a quarter of a century, he

has spent his noble and beneficent life among the blind. His last Annual Report was numbered the twenty-fifth.

Dr. Howe is now in his fifty-fifth year. Naturally of a fibrous, most enduring and resilient temperament, his health was broken down by exposures while in the army of Greece. He is the best specimen extant of all that was noble and valiant in the old chevalier; and in their day he would have been as terrible and as generous a warrior as Godfrey or Amadis de Gaul. He is a man capable of all moods of mind, from the stormiest to the gentlest; with a voice that could shout on a charge of cavalry, or lull a sick infant to sleep. When that ocean of feeling he carries in his breast is calm, the halcyon bird might there build her nest and brood her young; but, when the tempest of a holy indignation rouses it, navies could not survive its fury.

Though devoting himself primarily and mainly to his speciality of benevolence, yet, when that work is done, he engages in other philanthropies. To whom is education indebted more than to him? He and Charles Sumner did more than all other men to correct public sentiment on the subject of solitary confinement in prisons; and the same hand that carried succours to the Greeks in 1826, and to the Poles in 1831, carried them to Kansas also last year.

When any benevolent enterprize is undertaken in Massachusetts, his leadership or counsel is always invoked; and if he be absent in any critical juncture or desperate emergency, men cry out, as the host of Clan Alpine at the battle of Beal an Duinè,

> "One blast upon his bugle-horn
> Were worth a thousand men!"

One of the most striking traits in my hero's character is its simplicity; not merely an absence of pretension, but a negation of it. Unlike many truly great men, he has no particle of self-show or self-demonstration; and a stranger might ride with him a thousand miles without being informed that he had ever been anywhere that everybody else had not been, or seen anything that everybody else had not seen. Like an unpolished diamond, the surface is the only unbrilliant part of him; though dim without, all luminous within. When he writes or when he fights, the beholder is not dazzled by the sheen of the battle-axe, but the antagonist dies under the weight of the metal or by the precision of the blow. Like the Arab's sword which had shivered every sword it had ever struck,

> "Ornament it carried none,
> Save the notches on the blade."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales, from its Rise to the Present Time. By Thomas Rees.*

In no part of the kingdom, both before and after the Restoration, did the coarse and evil spirit of persecution display itself with more virulence than in the Principality. The sufferings of the Nonconformists, ministers and people, were most distressing. The life of Vavasor Powell painfully illustrates the malignity of the dominant party in Wales, and the heroic endurance which their Nonconformist victims displayed. He was born in Radnorshire in 1617, and was related to some of the most respectable families in the counties of Radnor, Montgomery and Salop. He was entered a student at Jesus College, Oxford, where he acquired no mean proficiency in literature, but learnt little of religion either in theory or practice. Leaving the University, he settled at Clun, in Shropshire, uniting apparently the duties of schoolmaster and of curate to his uncle, Erasmus Powell, the incumbent. But it was not until a rather later period of his life that he received those deep impressions of religion which induced him to give his whole strength, and eventually to sacrifice liberty and life, in preaching the gospel.

"The exact time when he began to preach is not certainly known. In the year 1640, when preaching at a house in Breconshire, he, and about fifty or sixty of his hearers, were seized by fifteen or sixteen persecutors, who pretended that they had a warrant from one Justice Williams, of Builth. That night they were locked up in a church, and the next day conducted to the justice's house, who committed them to the hands of the constables. The following day they were examined before that and two or three other justices, and six or seven clergymen; but after a long discussion, they were at that time dismissed with many threats. Some time after, when preaching in a field, in Radnorshire, to a large congregation, Mr. Powell was arrested and committed, by his kinsman, Mr. Hugh Lloyd, the high sheriff. The sixteen or seventeen constables who were charged with the execution of the *Mittimus*, all, except one, would have nothing to do with it. This man, taking Mr. Powell to his own house, which was on the way, and permitting him to lodge there that night, because the prison was at a great distance, was so affected with his devotions in the family, that he could proceed no farther. He left the prisoner in his own house, and absconded; but the persecuted minister, to prevent any trouble to the constable, bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes for Radnorshire. At the assizes he was honourably acquitted of the charges preferred against him, and, to the great mortification of his persecutors, he was invited to dine with the judge. The high sheriff, however, continued implacable, and did not rest until he had persecuted him out of the country. To save his life, he fled to London, where he arrived in August, 1642."—P. 116.

Mr. Rees does not always make the best use of his materials: e. g., in the passage just quoted where he speaks of Vavasor Powell's arrest and imprisonment in a church, he fails to notice the striking incident that at midnight the worthy preacher conducted a religious service for the benefit of his imprisoned hearers and their attendants. He took as his text the words, "Fear not them who kill the body." One of the attendant constables, though previously he had been "one of the chief-

* Continued from p. 503.

est and vilest of his troublers," was deeply affected by the discourse, and wept bitterly. We can scarcely imagine a finer subject for a painter than this strange midnight assembly, and the courageous confessor standing up to strengthen and comfort his fellow-sufferers and to warn and rebuke their persecutors. Then, again, Mr. Rees has failed to notice the picturesque incident, that on the following day, when awaiting the coming of the magistrate to whose house they were taken, Vavasor Powell again preached, and had among his hearers the members of the magistrate's family. He returned, and was both astonished and angered on finding his own house thus strangely turned into a conventicle. Intercessors in behalf of the preacher and his fellow-sufferers unexpectedly appeared in the persons of two young ladies of the family, who had listened with unwonted interest to the address just delivered. It was probably owing to this interference that the persecuted men were on the next day warned and discharged. It is a great mistake on the part of an historian to pass over incidents like these. They give life and reality to his narrative, and reveal to the reader, better than any general description can do, the evil and the (unintentional) good which persecutors do.

Vavasor Powell continued in England four years and a half, preaching first of all in London, and then at Dartford, in Kent, and acquiring considerable reputation as an evangelist. In the month of September, 1646, he received a certificate and testimonial from a ministerial synod in London, attested by Herle, Nye, Sterry, Burroughs, Marshall, and other eminent men.

"On his return to Wales he became a most indefatigable and active instrument in propagating the Gospel among his fellow-countrymen. He very often preached two and three times the same day, and was seldom two days in the week, throughout the year, without preaching. There was scarcely a church, chapel, or town hall in the Principality in which he had not preached. He also often preached at fairs, markets, in fields, and on the mountains, and wherever he could find a number of people to preach to. It is impossible to form an adequate idea of the extent of his labours in Wales from the year 1646 to 1660."—P. 117.

It is an interesting fact that Powell boldly opposed and denounced Cromwell's policy as soon as its selfish character developed itself. In his religious opinions he was loth to tie himself closely to any sect. He adopted the opinions of the Baptists, and though generally Calvinistic in his views, did not hesitate to speak and write in a manner that sounded at least heretical. The title of one of his printed sermons was, "Christ exalted by the Father, God the Father glorified, and Man's Redemption finished." Nor was it in an obscure corner of the Principality that Powell preached this doctrine, but in a sermon delivered in the year 1649 before the Lord Mayor of London.

The other principal events in Powell's ministerial course are thus given by Mr. Rees:

"On the 28th of April, 1660, a company of soldiers entered his house, and dragged him to the prison at Welshpool, from which place he was soon removed to Shrewsbury, where he was kept a prisoner for about nine weeks, and then, by an order from the King and Council, he and his fellow-prisoners were released.

"On his release from Shrewsbury Jail he returned to Wales, and to the great and most delightful work of his life—preaching the Gospel to his fellow-

countrymen; but the High Sheriff of Montgomeryshire thought it his duty to prohibit him, and upon Mr. Powell's refusal to comply with that prohibition, he was again imprisoned, after enjoying his liberty for only twenty-four days. Having been detained in prison in Montgomeryshire for some months, he was removed to the Fleet Prison, in London, where he was kept nearly two years, closely confined in a small, unhealthy, and most offensive room. This cruel treatment so impaired his health that he never afterwards recovered. On the 30th of September, 1662, he was conveyed from the Fleet Prison to Southsea Castle, near Portsmouth, and was confined there for above five years. Upon the fall of Clarendon, the power of the bloody patrons of persecution being somewhat reduced, Mr. Powell sued for a *habeas corpus*, and soon after, by an order from the King and Council, obtained his liberty once more.

"Scarcely ten months had elapsed before he was again imprisoned. Having gone to Bath and Bristol, for the benefit of his health, on his return home he preached to large congregations, at different places in Monmouthshire. From Newport, in that county, he proceeded to Merthyr Tydvil, in Glamorganshire, where nearly a thousand people had assembled, in and about the churchyard, to hear him. He preached to them from Jeremiah xvii. 7, 8. While he was preaching, George Jones, the parson of the parish, a man of a most reprobate character, posted away to Cardiff, to procure authority from the deputy-lieutenant to arrest him. Amongst other falsehoods, he swore that he was accompanied by a large number of armed men. The following morning, several officers, headed by one J. Carne, a major in the county militia, apprehended Mr. Powell at his lodgings at Merthyr Tydvil. When he desired to see their authority, Carne laid his hand upon his sword, and said that that was his authority. Being conveyed to Cardiff, he was committed to the county prison. This was about the beginning of October, 1668. After several mock trials at Cardiff and Cowbridge, a friend in London procured a writ of *habeas corpus* to remove him to the Court of Common Pleas, which the sheriff refused to obey, until he was threatened with a penalty of one hundred pounds. On the 16th of May, 1669, he left Cardiff for London, where he appeared, at the Court of Common Pleas, on the 22nd of the same month; and though none of the charges against him were proved, he could not obtain his liberty, but was again committed to the Fleet Prison, merely to please his implacable enemies. From this time he remained in prison, until he was discharged by death, at four o'clock in the afternoon, October 27th, 1670.

"He bore his last illness, which lasted for one month, with that patience and resignation which characterized him in all his sufferings, and died in the most heavenly frame of mind. His remains were interred in Bunhill Fields, in the presence of a vast multitude of Nonconformists, who attended him to his grave.

"Of all the Welsh ministers of this period, Vavasor Powell was the greatest sufferer. During his eventful public career, he was incarcerated in no less than thirteen different prisons; and had to pass the last eleven years of his life, almost without intermission, in one or other of them. Moreover, his enemies did not deem it sufficient to abuse his person by imprisonment and cruel treatment, but they also busily used both tongue and pen to vilify his character, during his lifetime and after his death. Yet, in spite of all these malicious attacks, his good name still lives, and his memory is most dear to every religious and unprejudiced Welshman, who is acquainted with his history and works.

"Amidst all his labours as an itinerant preacher, Mr. Powell found time to write several very interesting works, on practical, controversial, and experimental religious subjects. All his publications are small, and evince the author's piety, and desire to do good, rather than his mental powers and literary accomplishments. The closing paragraph of the preface to his work on the Two Covenants, shows that he considered *preaching*, and not *writing*, as the great work of his life. He thus expresses himself:—'Loving reader, having

held thee thus long in the *porch*, I invite thee to the *house;* but I am sorry that this book is so big, and, I fear, dear (but not dearer by any merchandise I have made of it); but it is not so dear to thee as to me, it having cost me many nights' study, because I would not neglect, for the printing of a *thousand books*, the preaching of ONE SERMON.'"—Pp. 118—121.

The author of "A Winding-sheet for Mr. Baxter's Dead," gives this striking character of Powell:

"A man indefatigably industrious, unweariedly laborious in his studies, and in his ministerial performances: for a long time of great strength of body, and equal vigour of mind, both which, while out of prison, he restlessly employed in the service of God, and very successful endeavours to save the souls of men. He turned his prison into an academy, and proceeded thence an excellent philosopher, an expert physician, and a very accomplished divine. He preached naturally, and that sometimes with little study (because very frequently), to far better purpose than those clergymen who take a whole twelvemonth to study a sermon. A greater command of his own and his auditors' affections, no man not apostolically qualified could have. His patience, when called to suffer, was so great, that it ran parallel with his sedulous activity when he was to act; and a larger commendation of that passive virtue in any one cannot well be given. Less resplendent than which his courage could not be; for so prodigious, so not to be paralleled was it, that it may be said, without hyperbole, that he feared not the face, nor yet the fury, of the most menacing, the most mighty mortal. He did and suffered all things so well, that without doubt he has long ago entered into the joy of his Master, and therefore we need not further vindicate him."—Pp. 122, 123.

Mr. Rees would have done well had he enriched his volume by criticisms on and extracts from the works of Powell, which are now very difficult of access to the ordinary reader. Nor should he have neglected to notice the long and offensively coarse account of Powell given by Anthony Wood (Athen. Oxon. III. 911—918). It is not always that we are able to track the course of misrepresentation into which the Oxford antiquary delights to run when writing about a republican or a nonconformist. How utterly false and groundless some of his statements are, and how distorted others are, any one may see who will compare his life of this honest confessor with those published by his contemporaries and friends, or with the narrative given by Crosby in his excellent History of the Baptists.

Powell was, we may add, an intimate friend of Hanserd Knollys, and not only a friend, but brother-in-law, of Mr. Hardcastle, a minister well known in Chester and Bristol, who suffered many things for his Nonconformity.

With the zeal of a Welshman, Mr. Rees regrets that Powell did not compose and publish his religious books in the language of the Principality, and cites as preferable the example of his contemporary, Morgan Lloyd, of Wrexham, "in the cultivation of religious literature in the Welsh language." We can scarcely sympathize with this feeling. By writing in Welsh, authors limit themselves to a circle of provincial readers. The retention of that tongue, however interesting to the antiquarian and to national enthusiasts, is a bar to the progress of civilization, and to the identification in thought, habits and progress, with the other subjects of Great Britain. We admit that the subject is one not without its difficulties, especially in relation to religious services. It is found that even they who speak both English and

Welsh can only preach with the enthusiasm which Welshmen demand in their native speech. And could they speak in both tongues with the same earnestness, truth would probably fail, when clothed in English, to enlist the feelings and convictions of men who have been accustomed to regard the language of their fathers as that in which religion is best spoken and poetry best sung.

Some further remarks on Mr. Rees's volume must still be deferred to another notice.

A Lecture on the Life, Character and Religious Opinions of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D., addressed to the Congregation of the Church of the Saviour, Avenue Place, Southampton, July 21, 1861, *by the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A., after the Inauguration of Dr. Watts' Statue by the Earl of Shaftesbury, July* 17. Published by Request. With Lithograph of the Statue. 8vo. Pp. 26. London—Whitfield.

The recent inauguration in his native town of the statue of the "sweet singer" of our English Zion, gave Mr. Kell an opportunity of bearing his testimony to the noble character and the final religious opinions of Dr. Isaac Watts. How ably he improved the opportunity, the interesting pamphlet now before us proves.

Mr. Kell opens his Lecture with some happy local references:

"Southampton has frequently witnessed spectacles of thrilling interest. From the time of Canute downward, her local records have been enriched with incidents which gem the historic page. On *her* strand were assembled multitudes to witness the array and embarkation of the gallant armies which won renown for England on the conquering fields of Cressy and Agincourt. Through *her* ancient Bargate, and amidst throngs and crowded balconies, have passed, in all their courtly state, our Edwards and our Henrys, the detested John, the petted Elizabeth, the unfortunate Charles, and other monarchs of later and happier days. From *her* ports sailed, mid the prayers and the tears of the pious and the true at heart, the vessel which was chartered with the noble band, the Pilgrim Fathers, who planted the tree of liberty on American shores. And awakening to every Christian emotion was the recent inauguration of Dr. Watts' statue, on July the 17th, when the peer and the peasant, the merchant and the artizan, the Churchman and Dissenter, men of every grade and of every party, congregated in our people's park, not to prepare for bloody warfare, not in the wake of royal pomp and worldly ambition, but to do honour to a man perhaps low in the roll of earthly honours and lordly state, but bearing a far nobler, far purer, world-wide distinction in the affections of Christian people, and receiving, we doubt not, the glad welcome of the Saviour to mansions on high—the crown of glory laid up for him in the kingdom of his God and Father."—P. 5.

The allusion to the Mayflower, which, in company with the Speedwell, sailed from Southampton, August 5th, 1620, is very felicitous.*

We quote a portion of Mr. Kell's sketch of Watts's life:

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* Mr. Kell might have alluded to the fact that, exactly 241 years previously, this celebrated vessel lay in Southampton waters; for in a letter of Prince's, bearing date July 22, 1620, he writes, "Seven hundred pounds sterling are laid out *at Southampton*," &c. In a few days after, the Speedwell joined the Mayflower, the latter vessel bringing from Delft-Haven that interesting band of Pilgrims to whom the pastor Robinson spoke his famous words, "instinct with the most enlightened, pure and gentle Christian philosophy," and in behalf of whom, kneeling on the shore, he supplicated God's blessing.

He "was born, 1674, in French Street. The apartment is still shewn in which the poet drew his first breath. His father was a schoolmaster of repute, and not deficient in that poetic power in which his son so much excelled. An earnest and devout Christian—deacon of the Independent chapel—the elder Watts was obnoxious to the persecuting enactments of that arch-traitor to Dissenters, Charles the Second, and was immured in our South Castle Gaol for the enormous transgression of not conforming to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Tradition reports that the devoted mother of Dr. Watts often sat with her infant on the door-step of the gaol, or lifted him to the cell window, to comfort his father during his imprisonment; thus, like a second Hannah, dedicating her child to the cause of piety, of religious liberty and truth,—a scene which might well deserve the graphic pencil of a West or a Holman Hunt.

"After an early training by his father in Latin, which he began, it is said, when he was four years old, he was transferred to the Southampton Grammar School, under the able tuition of the Rev. John Pinhorne, whose merits as an instructor Dr. Watts ever gratefully mentioned. So great, indeed, was his proficiency under him in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and so rare the talent he manifested, that Dr. Speed, then the most literary man in Southampton, offered to raise funds for his education in one of the English Universities. But a richer heritage was his! The son of the persecuted Nonconformist preferred liberty of conscience to the golden baits which Oxford and Cambridge offered; and he pursued his studies for the ministry in the freer academy of the Rev. Thomas Rowe, in London, where he had among his fellow-students Josiah Hort, Archbishop of Tuam; the Rev. Samuel Say, author of poems and essays; and the poet, William Hughes, whose warm friendship, with that of their tutor, he ever retained.

"At the age of twenty, he returned, for two years, to his venerable father's roof, when all his youthful energy was bent to noble thoughts and purposes, which were to be the helping guides of all his future life, so rich in usefulness. It was during his attendance at the Above-Bar chapel that, observing the poverty of the psalmody, and stimulated by his father's encouragement, he composed the majority of the hymns and psalms which have justly earned for him the title of the sweet singer of Israel."—Pp. 6, 7.

Mr. Kell has, we think, over-stated the fact in relation to the composition of Watts's hymns and psalms at Southampton. The work was begun there; but it is contrary to evidence and probability that the "majority" of his psalms and hymns were composed during his two years' stay with his father, i.e. from 1694-6. The first edition of his "Psalms of David" did not come out till 1719.

Addressing a Southampton audience, Mr. Kell naturally alluded to the influence of the beautiful scenery on either side of the Southampton river on Watts's poetical imagery, particularly in the verses,

> "There everlasting spring abides,
> And never-withering flowers;
> Death, like a narrow sea, divides
> This heavenly land from ours.
>
> "Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood
> Stand dress'd in living green;
> So to the Jews old Canaan stood,
> While Jordan rolled between."—P. 9.

We may notice an error of the press, p. 7: "Sir Richard Abney" should be Sir Thomas.

A valuable part of this interesting Lecture is that in which Mr. Kell speaks of the change which took place in Dr. Watts's religious opinions before the close of his life.

"In speaking of this important change—'important' he himself called it—I wish it to be distinctly understood that I assert only that 'the last thoughts of Dr. Watts were Unitarian.' For though, on the agitation of the great Arian controversy in the West of England and in London, when the celebrated synod of the three denominations met at Salters' Hall to consider whether a subscription to doctrinal articles on the Trinity, like those of the Church of England, should not be compulsory on their churches, Dr. Watts and his colleague declined to vote for such subscription (thereby incurring the suspicions of some of his brethren, and the fierce denunciation of his former friend, the Rev. Thomas Bradbury, who denounced him as a 'traitor to the faith, and a Socinian'),—*it does not appear that he then* laid himself open to any just imputation from Trinitarians, except that which they might rest upon his strong desire to hand down an absolute freedom to examine the Scriptures unfettered by human confessions of faith. For, in 1721, he published a volume which was considered an able *defence* of what he then designated 'The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity,' which called forth a reply from an Arian minister, the Rev. Martin Tomkins, in 1722; and, in 1724, he put forth three dissertations, entitled, 'The Arian invited to the Orthodox Faith,' which were also commented on by Mr. Tomkins.

"These discussions, however, were far from fortifying Dr. Watts in Trinitarianism, but rather seem to have had the effect of opening his mind to the difficulties which it involved. It was one year only after, in 1725, the Rev. T. Bradbury *reproved* him 'for making the Divinity of Christ evaporate into a mere attribute. It is a pity,' he adds, 'after you have been more than thirty years a teacher of others, you have yet to learn the first principles of the oracles of God;' and asks, 'was Dr. Owen's church to be taught another Jesus? that the Son and Spirit were only two powers on the Divine Nature?' &c. It is plain that at this time Mr. Bradbury, one of the most influential ministers in London, did not think Dr. Watts orthodox.

"In Dr. Watts' review, in 1729, of his own sermon, published 1721, entitled, 'The Scale of Blessedness, or Blessed Saints, Blessed Saviour, and Blessed Trinity,' he, in a note, implies his *dissatisfaction* with some things there advanced, and writes, 'There appears to me good reason to doubt whether there *can* be three distinct and different principles of consciousness, and three distinct and different wills in the one God—the one infinite Spirit:' and he afterwards contended for some scheme of the Trinity, which was unsatisfactory to the generality of Trinitarians, and is very wide from being strictly Trinitarian; it is, indeed, nearly allied to Sabellianism, and has usually been called 'The Indwelling Scheme.' Still, Dr. Watts did not, for a long time, give up the religious phraseology to which he had been accustomed through life; but strove, in the perplexity of his mind, to reconcile his really unorthodox faith with forms of expression usually appropriated by the orthodox, which this indwelling scheme seems better to admit. It is difficult to apprehend in what sense Dr. Watts used the word 'Trinity;' but since he conceived that Christ's pre-existent *spirit* was a *human* soul, he must surely have believed that *that human* soul was a created, dependent being, and not, consequently, in any usual acceptation of the word *Deity*."—Pp. 12—14.

Mr. Kell then quotes passages from Watts's works in proof that his religious opinions were not even during his middle life "orthodox." He also makes good use of the "Solemn Address," which no person of intelligence and candour can read without being convinced that Watts's orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity was shaken to its base.

We hope Mr. Kell's excellent and instructive Lecture may have a wide circulation, both local and general. It may give Lord Shaftesbury some of the information which his speech at the Inauguration, so little worthy of the occasion, shewed that he strangely lacked.

INTELLIGENCE.

WARWICKSHIRE UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN TRACT SOCIETY.

The fifty-fifth annual general meeting of this Society was held in the Great Meeting-house, Coventry, on Tuesday, 20th of August. It was affecting to note the great changes which have taken place, both in the Society itself and in the congregation at Coventry, since its annual meeting had been last held there just twenty years ago. The sermon was preached by the Rev. John Gordon, of Dukinfield, in kind compliance with the request of the Committee of the Society, who had solicited his services again, after an interval of only five years, in consideration of the interest which they anticipated that his services would excite in that ancient city, of which he was, a few years ago, so deservedly influential and so highly esteemed an inhabitant. All who had the privilege of being present at this religious service, must have been deeply impressed with the preacher's exposition of Unitarian Christianity as "the common faith" of Christians, and with the clearness with which he shewed that this common faith contains all that is of any real, scriptural and practical validity in what is commonly called the orthodox faith, while rejecting its notoriously heathen and ecclesiastical glosses and additions.

One passage of the sermon may be detached and recorded in the *Christian Reformer*, as at once an illustration and condemnation of one of the many unlawful arts by which Unitarian Christianity and its professors are often maligned:

"A Scotch Judge said the other day, in a deliverance from the judicial bench, that Unitarians were not a Christian church at all. The best that can be affirmed of that declaration is, that it was spoken by an ignorant man who was pandering to popular prejudice. If he was not an ignorant man, he was worse. But such ignorance belongs to a large class who, though professing Christianity, know nothing about it but what the institutions of the country teach them. As to the declaration itself, it is no more true than would be the absurd though correlative dictum that Scotch Judges were no legal body at all. It is, indeed, not uncommonly to be observed, that when lawyers stray into the field of religion, there is a peculiar awkwardness in their movements, which the airs of authority they may assume are quite inadequate to conceal."

At the close of the service, the members and friends of the Society dined together under the able presidency of Herbert New, Esq., of Evesham; after which, much friendly discussion ensued regarding certain matters now engaging the general attention of the religious world, and many encouraging sentiments were interchanged.

REV. C. H. A. DALL'S CRITICISMS ON THE ENGLISH UNITARIAN ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

"And now a closing word of our London Anniversaries. We arrived from Paris in season to attend them, having made all speed by the overland route, *via* Egypt and the Mediterranean, that we might not be too late, and having also taken, as you know, the very first chance open to us for leaving Calcutta, after seeing our friend Gangooly settled at his regular routine of duty under the superintendent of the Mission, Mr. Cress.

"And now let me gratefully confess that no reception in England could be more generous and hearty than ours. You may imagine that we were somewhat worn and weary after nearly forty days' journey, during which we rested nightly in our day-clothes, with eight or ten men, sick and well, drunk and sober, in the same state-room. On my first day in London, I received more than a dozen invitations to visit as many homes, with half-a-dozen appointments to preach; this at a time when I had with me no written sermons, and when my Hindoo friend and I were craving, above all things, a few days of rest, repose, sleep, for the renewal of vigour and elasticity to over-taxed physical energies. During the Anniversary days, we were constantly passing from one meeting to another, and were often called on to speak. The reports of those occasions in the 'London Inquirer' will have already informed you of the very kind appreciation with which these efforts were received. The genuine *sincerity* which marked all that was done during Anniversary Week was its jewel and its charm. By the happy occasion, as a whole, there can be no doubt that the Unitarians of Great Britain will be moved aright,—cheered, strengthened, warmed. I could write you pages on this point; but as there were a few things which I would gladly see altered, and it may do good to have these pointed out, I will do as I would be done by, and mention these distinctly:

"(1.) Secular music by a few voices was preferred to sacred music to be sung by the many, and this at the collation, the emphatically social board of the entire week. I am puzzled, if not pained, to notice that in the songs chosen there is no trace of adaptation to any sort of a friendly meeting, and no mention of the existence of God or of Jesus, only excepting the never-omitted 'God save the Queen,' and a few words sung as a table-grace. The names of these pieces, as you see by the programme, are, 'Queen of the Valley,—a glee, five voices;' 'In going to my lonesome bed,—a madrigal;' 'Farewell to the forest;' 'Spring-time.' I chance to know that one or more social-religious hymns were offered for this very occasion, but rejected, and these songs, which bore not the remotest allusion to Christianity, preferred. I do not know why, and I would gladly know the reason. The mention of the fact, I'm sure, will be taken in good part, should it ever meet the eye of our English friends.—(2.) Another fact was, that no meeting of the week, so far as I observed or could learn, was opened or closed *with prayer;* a custom universal with us in *our* Sunday-school and other meetings, when annual reports are to be read and addresses made.—(3.) I could not but regret that there was nothing answering to those gatherings for mutual exhortation, prayer and revival, which so crowd our churches on *every morning* of Anniversary Week in Boston. Our British brethren seem to be afraid of prayer-meetings, having seen them, I dare say, often marred by insincerity and cant. I trust the day is not far off when they will be able to bear them, and compel them to sincerity.—(4.) I looked for a closing festival celebration of the Lord's Supper. That, too, was omitted, and no *loaf and cup* administered to all the brethren, as we are wont to administer it. By the way, too, instead of our more cordial words of address, the social body of the assembled churches was almost uniformly addressed with the opening phrase, 'Ladies and Gentlemen,' which to me seemed stiff and unfitting,—at least, 'tis not our way.—(5.) Once more: in the *ministers'* discussion, the one subject which led the rest was that of a liturgy and methods of public prayer. Here, too, I was at a loss to understand (and so was our dear brother, Channing) how our brethren could prefer, as a majority of them do, to write and then *read* their pulpit prayers, just as they do their sermons. The Rev. James Martineau advocated this custom, though *we* could only explain such advocacy on the ground that *habit* is a second nature.

"All's well here; so may it be with you! God guide you, and your brother

"DALL."

To these remarks, which are printed in the American Monthly Journal, we will append one or two observations. Mr. Dall is scarcely correct in stating that no meeting during the week was opened or closed by prayer. The anniversary meeting at Brixton was opened by a full religious service. The dinner was preceded by prayer by Rev. Thomas Madge, and followed by that beautiful sacred song, "Non Nobis Domine." On the subject of the kind of vocal music suitable to a social party, different opinions will doubtless exist. The offered hymns alluded to by Mr. Dall were not accepted for two reasons,—because they would not have expressed in perfect sincerity the sentiments of the assembly, and because their literary merits were unequal to the occasion. With respect to two of the meetings of the week, the London District Association and the Sunday-school Association, it *is* the practice to close the meetings with prayer, and we suppose the custom was not this year broken through. For our own parts, we have no desire to imitate our orthodox brethren, or even our American Unitarian friends, in prayer and *revival* meetings. If they offer some advantages, there are dangers and inconveniences to be set against them. With respect to the Lord's Supper, we prefer its calm celebration in the accustomed way by our several churches, but have not a word of criticism to offer as to the practice of others who introduce it on more exciting occasions. ED. C. R.

LIST OF PREACHERS AND THEIR SUBJECTS AT CLEATOR.

1861. July 28, Rev. A. Lunn, Chorley, Lancashire—Morning: Holiness (Ps. xcvi. 9). Afternoon: Christian Zeal (Gal. iv. 18).

August 25, Rev. C. W. Robberds, Oldham, Lancashire—Morning: The Love of the World—when sinful, when not (2 Tim. iv. 10). Afternoon: Prospects of Christianity as a vital Influence upon Mankind (Luke xviii.).

Sept. 29, Rev. John Colston, Wilmslow, Cheshire—Morning: The Day of Rest (Mark ii. 27). Afternoon: The Unprofitable Servant (Matt. xxv. 36).

October 27, Rev. M. Gibson, Sale, near Manchester—Morning: God the Source of all Things (Rom. xi. 36). Afternoon: Love to Christ, our Unseen Master (1 Pet. i. 8).

Nov. 24, Rev. M. C. Frankland, Chowbent, Lancashire—Morning: Many Agen-

cies at work in the Edification of the Sincere Christian (1 Cor. iii. 21—23). Afternoon: To the Upright there ariseth Light in Darkness (Ps. cxii. 4).

Dec. 29, Rev. J. T. Whitehead, Ainsworth, near Bolton-le-Moors—Morning: Faithfulness to Conviction (Rom. xiv. 5)—The Lord's Supper—Afternoon: Religious Judgment (Rom. xiv. 10).

1862. Jan. 26, Rev. Henry Green, M.A., Knutsford, Cheshire—Morning: Vain Religion and Pure Religion (James i. 26, 27). Afternoon: The Refreshing of the Spirit for Christian Labour (1 Cor. xvi. 18).

Feb. 23, Rev. Charles Beard, B.A., Gee Cross, near Manchester—Morning: The Renewal of the Inward Man (2 Cor. iv. 16). Afternoon: Society (Luke iv. 16).

March 30, Rev. S. F. Macdonald, Rochdale, Lancashire—Morning: The Need of Patience (Heb. xi. 36). Afternoon: The Worship of Fear and the Worship of Love (1 John iv. 18).

April 27, Rev. John Wright, B.A., Bury, Lancashire—Morning: The Things not Seen (2 Cor. iv. 18). Afternoon: Religion and Science (Rom. xi. 36).

May 25, Rev. Lindsey Taplin, M.A., Tormorden—Morning: Christ's Instruction for Prayer (Luke xi. 1). Afternoon: The Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 20).

June 29, Rev. James Drummond, B.A., Manchester—Morning: Quenching the Spirit (1 Thess. v. 19). Afternoon: Christian Perfection (Matt. v. 48).

Morning service at 10.45. Afternoon at 3 o'clock.

UNITARIANISM IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

At Adelaide, the cause of Unitarian Christianity, very ably represented and defended by Rev. J. Crawford Woods, continues to prosper. There, as in England, the publication of "Essays and Reviews" has created a remarkable sensation both in and out of the Episcopalian church. Mr. Woods has delivered one or two lectures on the subject to large audiences. So great is the demand for the volume beyond the supply, that one gentleman paid ten shillings for the loan of it for six consecutive days. The ordinary charge for it is a shilling a day.—The members of Mr. Woods' congregation recently presented to the wife of their pastor, in token of their respect and of the pleasure which her safe return from Europe gave them, a splendid piano and music-stool. The following address accompanied the gift:

"Adelaide, May, 1861.

"A few of the friends of Mrs. John Crawford Woods, being desirous of presenting her with a lasting memorial of their regard and esteem, and of expressing in a substantial manner their satisfaction in her safe return to this colony, request her acceptance of a Piano, which they trust may not only serve to keep them in remembrance, but also enable her to derive increased enjoyment from the exercise of her musical talents.

"While recording their gratitude to Mrs. Woods for the kindness they have ever received at her hands, and for the great interest she has always manifested in the welfare of the church to which they belong, the subscribers wish to take this opportunity to express their esteem for Mr. Woods, and their high appreciation of the benefits he has conferred upon themselves and others by his ministrations in connection with the Adelaide Unitarian Church."

Mrs. Woods made a suitable reply.

REV. G. H. STANLEY, M.A., SYDNEY.

We observe in the Sydney papers that the Rev. G. H. Stanley, B.A., of the University of London, has recently taken the degree of M.A. in the University of Sydney. Mr. Stanley is the first to avail himself of an amendment lately made in the Colonial legislature admitting graduates of British Universities to take on examination higher degrees in the University of Sydney.

A SAINT IN THE HANDS OF THE PHILISTINES.

Seldom is the *Saturday Review* more pungent than when dissecting a spiritual charlatan. In the No. for Aug. 17, it dares to place Dr. Campbell, of the *British Standard*, on its operating-table, and the scalpel is used with remorseless skill. The article tells us how complacently the good Dr. and his friends proclaim his own marvellous powers. True, the orthodox editor is not always infallible; sometimes his more pretentious efforts display blundering and ignorance not easily paralleled. One of the Dr.'s recent happy efforts is to persuade the religious public to circulate 100,000 copies of his "Letters to the Prince Consort on Popery, Infidelity," &c. But, alas! some envious son of the evil one has with damaging skill practised a hoax on the good Dr. The bait was irresistible where vanity is equal to the ignorance. He swallowed it; and now the wicked laugh to see so large a fish caught on such a hook. Alas! when men of boundless gifts and graces like Cumming and Campbell fall into the hands of a graceless critic!